

THE
Arraignment
OF
REBELLION,
OR THE
IRRESISTIBILITY
OF
Sovereign Powers

Vindicated and Maintain'd in a
REPLY to a *LETTER*.

By *JOHN AUCHER*, M. A. Ejected Fellow
of *St. Peter's College in Cambridge*. Now D. D.
and Canon of *Christ-Church Cant.*

*My Son fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not with
them that are given to change. Prov. 24. 21.*

Ætas autem tua incidit in id bellum, cujus altera pars sceleris nimium habuit, altera felicitatis parum. Cic. lib. 2. De Off.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *M. F.* for *William Abington*, within *Ludgate*. 1684.

THE
MAGAZINE
OF
THE
NORTH
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION
OF
1776

Vol. 1
No. 1
1776

TO THE
Chance Customer,
OR
Casual Reader.

THAT thou mayst not lose thy Time, or thy Money, in the purchase, or perusal of this Pamphlet; I think my self bound in Justice, to acquaint thee before hand, that thou wilt meet with nothing New in it. Both the *Letter*, and *Reply*, being written in the time of *Oliver's* Usurpation.

The *Letter* was sent to me from a Friend, with whom I had a long, and intimate acquaintance. He was a Gentleman of that worth, and Candour, and Nobleness of mind, as was not, I believe, to be match'd

A 2 among

To the Reader.

among all his Party. To whom yet he came in but late, (insomuch that even *Barnabas* also was carried away with their Dissimulation) though I could never say he was truly *Theirs*, having utterly refus'd to sit in Judgment upon the King, though he was nominated, and appointed by them. But he still preserved his particular regard and esteem for me; whereby we continued our former conversation and correspondence. Nay we were grown to such a mutual confidence in each other; that as I could freely write or speak to him, what I thought fit, without any fear of being betrayed: So He being of a free, and plentiful Fortune, gave me Commission to his Cashier in *London* to take up money; as often as I pleased, not exceeding Ten pounds at a time, to bestow where I saw need. Which accordingly I often made use of, and always be-

To the Reader.

bestow'd it, as he knew I would, upon the most needy, and best deserving of our suffering Clergy.

This *Letter* here printed was the last I received from him. Which (abating onely the Complements, and Civilities wherewith it was inclosed) I give thee whole and entire, as it came to my hands. While I was writing my *Reply*, and had almost finished it, News was brought me, that my Friend was dead. Notwithstanding this, I went on with it, and having brought it to an issue, communicated it immediately to my honoured Friend and acquaintance, Dr. *Hammond*. Who bestowing many kind words upon it, (yet not without animadverting on a Phrase, or two, which was soon amended) press'd me earnestly to make it publick. Hereupon I went presently to *London*, and address'd my self among the
Book

To the Reader.

Bookfellers, to see if I could meet with any among them that would adventure with me so far as to get it printed.

I went first to a Stationer, whom I could name, then living under St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleetstreet*; who having formerly printed two or three Sheets of mine against the Engagement, I hoped might be persuaded to attempt this also. But he having perus'd the Papers for some time, delivered them to me again, as too perillous for him to engage in. Then I went to another, whom I will not name, of whom yet I less doubted, chiefly as having *Dr. Hammond's* Recommendation. But he having had the perusal of them likewise, for some time, found them belike too hot, or too heavy; too dangerous, or too dull for him to meddle with. So that I was forced to return home with my Papers, *Re infectâ*. Where
throw-

To the Reader.

throwing them aside, I never had them from that time to this in my eye, or in my thoughts, to my best remembrance; not since his Majesty's Restauration, I am sure, till the 30th, of *January* 168²₃. When searching for a Paper I had formerly writ on the occasion of that sad day, These likewise fell into my hands. I was strangely surprized at it: and hastily running them over, I streight delivered them to a Learned, and Judicious Neighbour of mine, to see if there was any thing in them that might yet be usefull to the publick. He tells me quickly, that these times having likewise a strong tendency to Rebellion, nothing that had been said, or could be said, on that point, would be unfit, or unseasonable to obstruct against it. And having read over the Papers, He added farther, That, since any new Commotions or
Rebel-

To the Reader.

Rebellion, must be always bottomed upon the pretensions of the Old : Those pretensions being clearly and advantageously laid down in the *Letter*, and as fully, and clearly, to his thinking, answered, and taken away in the *Reply*, I must not suppress them any longer : But he impatiently exhorted me to make them publick.

Upon this Encouragement I was persuaded, even at this time of the Day, to submit them to the wisdom, and authority of my superiours. And wrapping my self up in the Interest, and Peace of the Community, am contented (if they think fit) to expose my private infirmities, and even the weakness of my younger years, without any variation at all, to thy View and Censure. Farewell.

J. A.

T H E

THE LETTER.

SIR,

That instance of Jael, it seems, was it which gave you the greatest offence. And I must confess, I think it was the weakest part of my Discourse, and most unfit to have stress laid on it (if Edification rather than Conquest had been sought) But yet, if I had been rightly apprehended in it, I believe, it would not have produced that effect. For I was far from making that a Rule, or Example, for other men to act by, without the same Spirit, and cause to justify them in the action. And so far from making any Rule of the Old Testament to be a certain guide for us now; That I do not hold that any Rule of the New Testament will justify an action, that is conform'd thereto, unless it be done also in a New Testament Spirit. And that the obliging men to some certain measures of Doctrine, or Worship, gathered from the New Testament, without consideration of the suitableness of the several growths of Christians thereto, has been the foundation of all that formality, ignorance, and implicit faith, which has built up, and maintain'd the Babel of our Christian World. All the drift of that instance was

B

but

but to shew, that the People of God now (or some few of them) may possibly have the same extraordinary warrant against this Babel, as those of Old had against that, and against the Canaanites before. But for those who are exercised in those ways by virtue of such an Example, or by the observation of the Letter of prophecies (which yet speak plainly enough of the destruction of this Babel in a warlike way by the People of God) I am perswaded, that, if they have not a true Spirit proportionable, they will thereby but bring the greater wrath upon themselves. For we shall find that the Mystery of Babylon reaches farther than we are aware of. For though it be held forth only under the form of the City, and Empire of Rome, as it was divided into Kingdoms, and united again to that one City under that Ecclesiastical head; yet we are to learn thereby, that it is the evil principles, both in relation to Spirituals and Civils, which ruled most eminently in that Form, that is intended; and that every other Form, that partakes of them, is so far forth guilty of the same condemnation. And doubtless the greater condemnation is due to any State, or Person, that shall condemn that principle in that, or any other gross appearance; and yet shall maintain the same themselves in a more refined, and hypocritical way. And what's this evil principle? But that implicit faith in Spirituals, and implicit obedience in Civils, by which the Governours both of Church, and State, have held that Holy seed in bondage, and hindered the improvement of that image of God in holiness, and righteousness, which was so much defaced in the first fall. And that this did reign eminently in our former Government, is apparent enough by those principles, which denied any Power

Power to bound, or limit the King against his will; or to be above the Church in the interpretation of Scriptures, to a particular man's conscience. And, I wish, I could as well excuse these powers that succeed, as I could condemn the former. But this onely is to be said; That if that Zeal were right, it will lead the same persons on to the destruction of what is of the same corruption in themselves, and others under their power. And if the Lord do not perswade their hearts to condemn themselves, he will raise up others to condemn them, as they have done those before them. And though this remedy may seem to you worse than the disease: yet there is none that can establish any in so absolute a way, as to prevent the danger of these kind of disturbances. The strongest Babel, that can be devised to keep a people from being scatter'd into these confusions, is that form of absolute Monarchy, and that in an hereditary way. But yet that must admit of an opportunity for a justifiable resistance, and so of all the evil consequences which we would so much avoid. For suppose the King to be so absolute; yet he may be either a Fool, or Mad, or otherwise distemper'd, so as to command those things, which are absolutely destructive to that Society, which he is bound to preserve. In such a case there must be some Council, or single Person, that must govern the Commonwealth in his stead, for a time at least. Now if this be so, there then they must also judge, when he is in such a condition, or in any other, as destructive; and how long he continues therein; and not he himself, who will be still the more incapable of owning his disability, by how much he is really disabled. But suppose the restoring the old form of Government would restore that absolute peace, and happiness to

the Nation, which is desired: yet the means, which is maintain'd to bring it about, is worse than the want of it. For that principle which makes it absolutely necessary for the people to expose their lives, and fortunes for it, and to keep those Oaths, and Covenants, which were made to it, with that hazard will make them lose their very being to gain a well-being (and be never the nearer it neither.) For if the people in this scatter'd, and disarm'd posture, should hold an avowed allegiance to the former Government, they expose themselves all to the Sword, as Traytours to this. And if they shall have such a reserve in their hearts, whilst they pretend an acknowledgement to This, that can avail nothing to the Other's legal right, but render those people the more inexcusable that shall be taken in such double dealing. For my own part, I have been as much afraid, as any of giving the least encouragement to any thing that has been set up by these extraordinary ways. But, I doubt, I have missed many opportunities of doing good, by that nicety. And, when the Lord has once declared his will by a full Possession; and seconded it with so many signal Providences; I think, we may doe well to cease fighting against his Prerogative, which is to dispose of the Kingdoms of men to whom he pleases, and not to be asked what he does, though he should give them to the basest of men. And truly I have found it but the fleshly, and beastly part in me that has murmured at these changes, and will not look up to Heaven to ascribe all power to that wise Watcher, and Disposer of all things. Methinks if that fourth Chapter of Daniel were seriously perused, it should hint something that might be for our satisfaction in this point.

T H E

THE R E P L Y.

SIR,

After so long a demurr, to which I was invited first by your own commands, I should think the season wholly past for a Reply, onely that the Royalty and Prerogative of that Cause for which I plead, falls by no means under the commensuration of time, nor can be prejudiced by any Intervals, or *Interregnums* whatsoever; according to that known Maxime in our Law, *Nulum tempus occurrit Regi*. And therefore the Vote for Non-addresses being now recalled, and superseded by word of mouth when I was last with you, I take the freedom to examine your Letter. But still preserving the especial Favour and Charity of your design in sending it to me, whole, and unquestioned.

SECTION I.

And first to begin with *Jael*, who stands in the Tent door and entrance of your Letter. She being in Arrears (as you remember) before, and the occasion of offence; I do not find how what you have
laid

laid down here in her name, can pass for good payment, and make all even. For my exception against your instance of *Jaël* was this: That what was done by her indeed, as an Act of great Faith in believing the Word of God, and acknowledging that right which the Children of *Israel* had to the Land of *Canaan*, and so accordingly helping them against an Usurper, and Oppressour, (who by the expresse Word of the Lord was sentenced to be destroyed) should be so far perverted and abused by you, as to urge her way and manner onely of doing it, viz. by Dissimulation and Treachery to justify the same practices now of Lying, and Treason, &c. for the bringing about what you please to call and fancy a good Work.

To this I answered. Admitting, but not granting, that *Jaël* did well (not onely *bonum*, but *bonè*) what she thus did, (for it might be a weakness and failing in her, for any thing the Scripture says to the contrary. And that so it was we shall afterwards evince.) Yet it will not at all follow, that the same way, though to as good an end, is lawfull or practicable now. For that there is this vast difference between us and her: That in her time, and to her (she being not a Jew) it must be remembered (and so not concerned or acquainted with the Law of *Moses*) there was no such expresse Law or Revelation from Heaven against it. And,

Rom. 4. 15. where no Law is, there is no transgression: God
 Acts 17. 30. winking at those times of Ignorance, whereas now
 Col. 3. 9. he commands all men every where Not to lye one
 1 Thes. 4. 6. to another; and, That no man go beyond or de-
 fraud his Brother in any matter: Not to forswear
 Mat. 5. 33. our selves; but to perform unto the Lord our Oaths:

And

And to keep our promise, though it were to our Gal. 3. 3.
own hindrance, and the like.

The administration of the Spirit then, differing from that since, and generally under the Gospel, not onely in the degrees of it, whereby we are obliged to a higher pitch, and proficiency now in the same duty, than they of old; but also in the very kind, and Species of it, whereby many things were lawfull, and indifferent then, which now are not so: Nay many things pious, and holy then, which are now wicked, and damnable.

And for full proof of this, I instance'd particularly in *Elias*. Whose calling for fire from Heaven, and destroying his enemies, was questionless in him an act of Zeal, and Piety, acceptable to God. Whereas the same motion, and offer is condemned by Christ in his Disciples, as being wholly inconsistent, and contrary to that Spirit He was to plant in them; or to that manifestation of the Spirit rather of suffering, and saving, He came to shew forth among men. *For I am not come, says He, Luke. 9. 56. to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* And certainly all that are called Christians, or pretend to his Spirit, must so walk as they have Christ for their pattern.

S E C T I O N II.

To all which, You are pleased to answer for your self. That you are so far from making any Rule of the Old Testament, much less any practice there, a certain guide for us now without the same Spirit; That you do not hold that any Rule of the New Testament will justify an action that is conform'd.

form'd thereunto, unless it be done also in a New Testament Spirit.

Truely, Sir, what you say is very right, That a New Testament Spirit, *i.e.* Charity is a necessary qualification to denominate any action to be truly good. For, *Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and have not Charity, saith St. Paul, it profiteth me nothing.* But this comes not home at all to the case. For the Question between us is not, Whether any action can be good now without Charity? But, Whether Charity, or a good end, can make any action (how foul and lawless soever) to be good? *Bonum*, say the Schoolmen, *fit ex Integris*; *Malum è quolibet defectu*. To make a thing evil, it is sufficient that it fail in any one circumstance; but it must be perfect, and complete throughout to make it good. And therefore, though to be done without Charity, or a New Testament Spirit, be enough indeed to make any action evil: it will by no means follow from hence, That whereever Charity is, the action must streight be good, supposing it to fail yet in some other particular. For then all actions will be alike. Treason, Perjury, Lying, and the rest, in an equal degree of vertue, and capacity to good, as Alms, and Prayers, and Martyrdom. As neither of them good, if not done in Charity: So by that they may all be sublim'd into necessary acts of Piety, and Religion. Whereas these things are so intrinsically evil, and *ex natura Rei*, that they can never be otherwise. Lying (for example) being so contrary to the nature, and essence of God, who is Truth it self, that He can no more lye, than not be God. God cannot lye. And what He cannot doe himself, no Spirit of

John 14. 6.

Num. 33. 19.

of his whether of the Old, or New Testament, can authorize, or approve any in the doing of it.

But yet farther. The question is, Whether in the New Testament times, an Old Testament spirit can be pretended, to justify any in those old practices? For so your professing not to make that instance of *Jael* a rule, or example for any to act by, without the same spirit: And afterwards, That those who are exercised in these ways by virtue of such an example, if they have not a spirit proportionable, will bring but the greater wrath upon themselves, does pretty well imply what I onely charged you with; That you pretend therefore to the spirit of *Jael*; and so fall back from Christ to *Moses*; from the Gospel to the Law; Nay from that glorious midday-light in the Gospel (which he that runs may reade) to secure your selves, as in *Jael*, in the darkness, and ignorance of the first Times.

The Old Testament spirit was indeed the spirit of God; but fitted, and proportion'd to Circumcision, the Old Testament, or Old Covenant it self to which it served. Which being now out-dated and superseded by a better, a Covenant established upon better promises: There is likewise a better spirit, that is to say, a higher, and more excellent administration of the same spirit in proportion to it. For, as the Apostle argues, that, The Priesthood being chang'd, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law: So the Law, or Testament being chang'd, there is made of necessity a change also of the spirit. Though both from God, the Old Testament, and the Old spirit, yet both to be altered, and made better by him. *Ye know not* what spirit ye are of (saith our Saviour to his three

Heb. 8. 6.

Heb. 7. 12.

Luk. 9. 55.

C

Dis-

Disciples) *For the Son of man came not to destroy, &c.* Thereby evidently distinguishing his spirit not in these three Disciples onely; but in all that belong to the Son of man, and own him for their Saviour, from that destroying spirit of *Elias*, which ruled and govern'd in the Old Testament.

Exod. 32.
28, 29.

The Law was given in Thunder and Lightning, as being the letter of condemnation, and so to be managed by a killing, and destroying spirit, always expressing it self in Zeal, and fiery indignation (And from hence came that *Jus Zelotarium* among the *Jews*) as in *Phinebas*, *Elias*, and the whole Tribe of *Levi*, who consecrated themselves to the service of God, and attendance on his Altar, in the blood of their Brethren. Whereas the Gospel of peace coming down like the rain into a fleece of wool, as being the ministry for reconciling sinners to God; of seeking, and saving that which was lost, is accordingly actuated with a spirit of Charity born upon the wings of a mighty love, and immortal patience; spreading, and stretching it self to our greatest enemies, and the highest opposers of Religion for edification, and not for their destruction. And, in a contrary method to the Levitical consecration in the Old Testament, a main qualification to adapt, or consecrate any one for the service of the New, is

1. Tim. 3. 3.
Tit. 1. 7.

Gal. 5.
20.

2. Cor. 5. 17.

That he be no striker. The old spirit of Zeal is become it self now a work of the Flesh. Mercy, meekness, and moderation are the proper virtues, and a New commandment of Love superstituted in the stead of it. *Old things are passed away, behold all things are become New.* A new Testament, and a new spirit, like new wine put into new bottles for the preservation of both.

And

And as the old Covenant of Circumcision, which, while it was in force, was urg'd by God with so much strictness, and severity, that the omitting of it was instant death, and excision (Whosoever among you is not circumcis'd, that soul shall be cut off from his people) Is yet become in the New Testament not unnecessary onely, but far more hurtfull, and pernicious in the use of it, than the contempt, or neglect of it, could formerly have been. *If ye be circumcised, says St. Paul, Christ shall profit you nothing.* So the Old Testament Spirit, which was accounted for righteousness to *Phinehas, Elias,* and the rest, will bring as swift destruction upon any now who pretend to it. As many of you as are justified by the Law are falln from Grace. 'Tis a plain renouncing, and bidding farewell to the spirit of Grace, to justify your actions by the spirit of the Law: a preferring *Moses* before Christ; a direct apostatizing to the sect of the *Jews*: and the most hatefull opposition to Christ, and his Gospel. Which is made so much more odious than the Judaism of Old, in as much as it pretends to this from a height, and growth in Christianity: A Judaism not from the *Jews*, but *Judas*, who in appearance of kindness, and greater interest, and familiarity with his Master, did shamelessly betray him. Thus they are, forsooth, listd above Ordinances; and while the rest of the Apostles are put upon duties, Watching and Praying in the garden; While all other Christians are under command to their Superiours, Defrauding no man, Truth in their promises, and the like; and not thinking our selves worthy to sit down with Christ on his Throne, esteem it a special privilege to enjoy him in his

2 Cor. 11. 26. Sacraments; *To shew forth the Lord's death till he*
 Joh. 3. 3. *come* (as we are bidden) in the Holy Supper; and
 to be born again of water, and the spirit; as a
 necessary condition of seeing the Kingdom of God:
Judas rushes in with a hasty kiss: And so these o-
 vergrown Christians with their lanterns, and wea-
 pons, and armed men, fall presently a kissing of
 Christ; no longer to be kept off at the distance
 of a Sacrament or the reverence of a duty; but
 under colour of a greater growth, and interest in
 him, betray him manifestly to the *Jews*, and that
 Old Testament spirit, in all his Laws, and Sacra-
 ments, and services, to be crucified by them at
 their will.

That there are indeed several degrees, and
 growths in Christianity is perfectly true. There is
 the Babe, and the perfect man in Christ: there is
 the weaker, and the stronger Christian; and that,
 both in respect of knowledge, and in respect of
 Grace, whereby some Christians are more regene-
 rate, have mortified farther than others: Some
 Christians are more knowing, and so at greater
 freedom, and liberty than others. But yet certain-
 ly they are all within the same inclosure of Obedi-
 ence to the Laws, and Commandments of Christ.
 The less knowing Christian may perhaps miss
 some part of that liberty, which Christ hath pur-
 chased for him; but the most knowing must not
 dare to transgress the least law, or command of his
 Master. The freedom onely lies in matters of a
 middle nature; which being under no command or
 prohibition at all, the weak, or ignorant Christian does
 by his want of knowledge conceive otherwise; and
 so obliges himself to doe or not to doe, accordingly.
 And

And thus likewise in the growth of Grace, and degrees of mortification; He that mortifies least, must yet be supposed to mortifie every known lust, and to practise an Uniform obedience to the Laws of Christ. He that is partial to himself in either is but almost a Christian. The degree consists not in mortifying this sin which another does not; or in obeying this law, or command of Christ, which another Christian on the same occasion would not: But in mortifying this sin in a greater measure; hating it with a more perfect hatred; watching more diligently against the occasions, and provocations which lead to it; praying more frequently, and earnestly against it. So in obeying the command with a greater desire, and delight, *Virtutis amore*, making it our own choice; judging the command most fit, and reasonable; the yoke to be an easie yoke; and so our obedience, and submission to it the very pleasurable part of our lives. And yet farther enlarging our mortification to some freedoms, and Indulgences allow'd unto us by God, and his Church, wherein we think fit to restrain our selves. *All things are lawfull for me* (says the Apostle) *but I will not be brought under the power of any.* 1 Cor. 5. 12. And thus in our obedience; not confining it barely to the plain laws, and commands of our Lord; but aiming likewise at his counsels, and endeavouring towards perfection. And while we might without sin, nay doe well, as *S. Paul* says, by giving our Virgin in marriage; yet resolve by giving her not in marriage to doe better. Put our selves with the Apostle into the Theatre, when we might have the benefit to escape Persecution. Labour with our hands when we have a power to live of the Gospel; and the like. 1 Cor. 7. 38. Act. 19. 30. 1 Cor. 5.

S E C T -

SECTION III.

But yet, all this makes nothing at all against obliging men to some certain measures of doctrine and worship, gather'd out of the New Testament. For that some doctrines there are in the New Testament so apprimely necessary, that he is not a Christian that is ignorant of them, or does not believe them. Some parts of God's worship are of such universal interest, and concernment, that no Christian Church, or communion, can be without them. And to pretend a weakness, or unsuitableness of our spirits unto them, is to profess our selves really Infidels. And for other doctrines, as Stars of a lesser magnitude, yet certainly God's revealing them unto us in the New Testament, does lay an obligation upon us of receiving them, as soon as they are propounded unto us by authority of his word. And so for our worship, if it take in all that is commanded by God in this matter, and add nothing forbidden by him, supplying the rest with a suitable respect to God, and our selves, and the whole Church, I know not what fault there can be, in obliging men to an observation of it.

Weakness of Conscience was very pleadable in the days of the Apostles, and first planting of Christianity. When, all men being *Jews* or *Gentiles*, the Christian *Jews* were to receive Doctrines, and Sacraments, utterly destructive to what they had received before from the mouth of God, which was given unto them by the Ministry of Angels; confirm'd by Miracles; and endear'd unto them by the Wisdom, and witness of all Ages. And no marvel if

if pious souls stuck now and then, could not instantly unlearn the Religion of the Prophets, and Patriarchs; of God, and his holy Angels; nor swallow down every Camel without chewing. And so the Gentiles were brought by Christianity into principles, and practices, where they were not onely to forget what they had been formerly taught, and brought up in, and wherein they had liv'd; but utterly to condemn it, and themselves for it. All the divine Mysteries, and Rites whereby they were accepted by their Gods; admired in the world; made auspicious, and lucky in their several undertakings; were now to be mortifi'd, as so many beastly, and unnatural lusts: Their noblest, and most Heroical Vertues, as Ambition, Pride, Revenge, and the like, instantly metamorphosed into so many horrid vices. Their Heaven turned into Hell; and their Gods not to be rejected barely as no Gods, but to be hated, and abominated by them as down-right Devils. And in lieu of all these to take upon them the Doctrine of the Cross, and the Worship of a Crucified *Jesus*.

And what wonder, if in this hasty flight from royal *Sodom* to little *Zoar*, there be some lookings-back; if in this Violent change from the extremity of Cold to extreme Heat, there is some doubtings, and *Deliquiums*? Which yet (it is very observable) were not at all indulg'd to by Christ or his Apostles; Heathenism it self being a sin, together with the Rites, and Appendages of it. However they had bound it to themselves with long custome, an early Education, and strong perswasions; this gains them no Privilege or Toleration, no not for an hour. All the Allowances, and Indulgences, the Forbear-

ings,

- ings, and Compliances, were upon the *Jewish* flock, and interest. God had deceived them, as the Prophet speaks, and they were deceived. And so the weakness being (in some sense) His; the weakness of his Law to which they had been obliged, they were for some time indulged by him in it; but this onely till they could be instructed in the perishing nature of those legal Ceremonies, and Services; and the abolition made plain to them from the same authority as had before established them. And when this is once done, then at their own peril be it, if they still continue them. Their weakness of Conscience will no longer be of force to plead for them. *S. Paul*, who had before, in compliance with their weakness, been the Authour of
- Acts 16. 1. Circumcision to *Timothy*, becomes soon after as severe a Preacher against it. *If ye be circumcis'd,*
- Gal. 5. 2. *Christ shall profit you nothing.* And so having been a Catechist for some time to the *Hebrews*, and employed himself in laying down, and expounding to them the principles of Christian Religion; at last, without considering the growth of their spirits, nay considering clearly that they were not grown;
- Heb. 5. 12. That, whereas for the time they ought to be Teachers, they had need to be taught again their Old Lesson; even the first principles of Christianity. What? Does he think it necessary to comply with their weakness? To suit himself still to their dulness? No. Their weakness, and dulness was utterly their own fault: For the time they ought to be Teachers.
- Heb. 6. 1. Therefore leaving, says he, the principles, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation, &c. And, as in Doctrines, thus he deals likewise in Ceremonies, or a Form of Worship: In his

his first Epistle to the *Corinthians* he declares how fit, and decent, and orderly it was for men to worship God bareheaded, and women covered. And this he proves by several *Mediums*, and from 1 Cor. 11. several Topicks. And when that is done, doth he make provision for tender Consciences, or such as should be scandalized at it? Does he consider the several growths of the spirits he had to deal with in this matter? Nothing less. He had declared plainly the matter as it was, had said enough to satisfy fully every meek, and peaceable spirit (as the spirit of God is questionless in all its growths.) *And if* v. 16. *any man seem to be contentious*, says he, (as he must needs do, that will still oppose, and pretend scruple; universal custome, and practice must silence him whom Reason cannot) *we have no such custome, nor the Churches of God.*

From hence then it will appear; First, wherein this weakness is allowable, and to be born with: and Secondly, how long. First, not in disobedience to any practical law of Christ. *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.* The weakest, and most infant Christian that names but that holy name, and professes himself a Disciple of that Master, must frame his actions in some kind of equity, and agreeableness to the law of his Master. St. Paul, the great indulger of his brothers weakness, is yet sufficiently severe against all offenders in this matter. No Whoremonger, nor Idolater, nor Adulterer, shall inherit the Kingdom of God. And again, says he, *Let every soul be Subject to the higher powers.* No exemption of any person, no excuse upon any pretence whatsoever. *They that resist shall receive to themselves*

D

dam-

nation. And the reason is, because these Laws being imprinted in our very nature, and a part of our selves, are onely reduced, and brought back by Christianity, and recover'd from those blots, and stains which were cast upon them by our sins, and the contrary customs of a wicked world. And therefore all ignorance, and scruple here, gains no more benefit of Toleration than in Heathenism it did. Whereas several *Credenda* there are, and doctrinal verities, which as they are not so plainly, and expressly laid down, but they must be drawn out by referring to several and distant places of Scripture, and therefore not discernible at one view: So when they are presented to us, there are scarce any footsteps, or former impressions of them on our spirits to work their admittance. Many of them being above reason, and the reach of a man's understanding. Which therefore God is pleased to sink into us by degrees, not to press them upon us in gross, but here a little, and there a little, as we are able to bear them. Humane reason being the same to us, as the Law was to the *Jews*. Both written by the Finger of God: neither of them contrary; yet both much weaker, and far inferiour to the Doctrine of Christ. And therefore, though there might be some time of Indulgence upon that account, as the *Jewish* law was allow'd of for some years: Yet this onely till the same Authority could be made known for the one, as for the other: That the God of our reason is he who does require us to an assent of these things above our reason, and then our reason becomes instantly engaged in the work. All excuses are taken away, and it is most unreasonable not to assent to them. He that is a *Jew* still is not to be
look'd

*Res Dei Ra-
tio.
Tertul.*

look'd upon as a weak Brother. And after God by his Church has declared, and set forth these Doctrines for so long together; we that live in the Fifteenth, or Sixteenth Century, can be little benefited by the pleading of Ignorance. For the time we ought to be Teachers; and thereby the Church is fully empower'd to exact, and require them of us.

And so in the form, and manner of our worship, Weakness will be of no force against Custome universal. When the decency of our Ceremonies is so plainly visible to all; the innocency of them so fully vindicated; the absolute indifferency of them in themselves so loudly profess'd, and acknowledged by the Church: Whereby all fear of Superstition (as they call it) or placing a Holiness in them is quite taken away. He that still quarrels at our worship, does not quarrel at it, but at the Church; shews himself contentious; and must not by so doing acquit himself in the least from the observation of it. Much less, when all these exceptions against Doctrines, and Worship, do not own their original from Ignorance and Weakness (which might colour for an excuse) but professedly from a greater Knowledge, and stronger estate in Christianity. For upon that account it is that they are rejected now, and laid aside, and an Extraordinary warrant, and an extraordinary spirit, brought up in the stead of them.

And as to the building, and maintaining of *Babel* which you object, I shall onely ask, whether setting men loose from all Laws, and Religion, be not a fairer groundwork for *Babel*, *i. e.* Confusion; than by drawing men into a Communion, with one mind, and with one mouth to glorify the God of

our Fathers? The extraordinary spirit in Christ was to gather together into one as many as were scattered abroad. The extraordinary spirit in the time of the Apostles had no other end but this in it; To plant a Church, to prescribe Laws, and to regulate Communion: And therefore was it self subject to the laws it had prescribed. The spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets. How extraordinary then, or extravagant rather, shall we call this spirit of yours, from the spirit of Christ, and his Apostles, whose work it is onely to dissolve, and to destroy Communion; to set every man by himself; to profess a spirit of Independency, or subjection to the spirit of the Prophets; to cry down laws, and all prescribed worship, not because they are bad, but because they are laws, because they are prescribed? And upon that one head, *viz.* The obliging men to some certain measures of Doctrine, and Worship, fathering (as you do) all the ignorance and formality that is found in the Christian world. Whereto therefore *S. Paul* in his Charge to men that they teach no other Doctrine: And so in his ordering the Christian men of *Corinth* to be bareheaded in their Worship, &c. (For what is this but obliging men to some certain measures of Doctrine, and Worship?) must be thought in the first place, and most souly necessary.

That some Churches have indeed taken advantage from hence to dogmatize, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of men, afterwards instilling them into their very Worship, will no more take away the power of the Church, in laying this obligation, and the necessary good which does generally arise from it: than Civil Government, because

1 Tim. i. 3.

cause some Fathers, or some Sovereign Rulers do enact unjust, and inconvenient laws; we should presently disclaim all Sonship, and subjection; and revenge this miscarriage of theirs upon all of the same rank, and dominion, how guiltless, and innocent soever: By declaiming against Government; reviling of Order; setting it up as the mark for our *πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥήμα*, and even naming it Confusion. Which yet both by God, and Man, it is especially, and expressly designed against. Without a Corporation, and embodying together in the State, we have no security of our lives. And without a Communion, and consent in the Church; without a confessed obligation, to some certain measures of Doctrines and Worship; we can have no hope that Religion will be long-liv'd among us. When this Obligation, the Staff of Bands, is once broken; The Church, and Religion (which yet had lasted for some time without the Staff of Beauty, as we may observe in the eleventh Chapter of *Zachary*) freight falls to the ground. What other can we expect here, where the onely Prop lent to sustain it is, instead of a staff, a reed; the Old Testament spirit; which *eo nomine*, as *St. Paul* argues against it by name, will presently expire. *Now that which* Heb. 8. 13 *decayeth, and waxeth old, is ready to vanish away.* And none sooner than this particular spirit wherein you instance, the spirit of *Jael*. Which of all appearances in the Old Testament puts the fairest for *Babel*; and enclines most (in the way you urge it) to ruine, and confusion; as being utterly destructive to all society, and commerce; to all manner of agreement and accord in Civil, or Sacred employments. For that spirit being supposable onely, since

we

we are so loudly declared already *Sifera's*, and *Canaanites*, I demand with what manner of trust can we rely upon your promises, and invitations; upon your acts, and articles? When we are charmed by these into sleep, and security; the spirit of *Jael* comes upon you, and the nail is driven into our temples.

And if this be enough to supersede the Old spirit from being of force among us; I shall need add but little to what I have already said to justify the New from ever countenancing, or giving encouragement to such actions. For you cannot but see, and acknowledge, that the spirit of Christ in the Gospel has reveal'd to us Precepts quite contrary to any such practice. We have an Administration there that does wholly sentence, and condemn this kind of doing: A spirit that is absolutely oppos'd to any such spirit. And if we or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other doctrine (the Scripture has said it) let him be accurs'd. And then consider, I beseech you, that place of *St. Paul*. *Let us do evil, that good may come, whose Damnation is just.* And if for the abounding of God's Grace we are not to continue in sin (which *St. Paul* startles at, and casts from him, you may remember, with a *μὴ γένοιτο* *God forbid*, when it was falsely father'd upon him, and his Gospel) then certainly no New Testament spirit, no Charity, and Love to God (for that was the supposition purely, Our love to God; and the greater manifestation of his Grace (That Grace may abound) nothing of selfishness, or particular Interest; but as it is in you at the best, for the propagation of the Gospel, and pulling down of Antichrist. Suppose it true, and real, I say) can justify you

you in the commitment, or continuance of the least sin whatsoever : But is, give me leave to assure you, the most killing blasphemy that can be darted against God ; and the foulest *Opprobium*, and reproach that can be spit upon the Gospel.

If it be still urg'd ; That, though to continue in sin were indeed damnable upon any terms ; yet that where such a spirit, or principle leads us on to the work, there can be no continuance in sin, what ways, and steps soever we tread in for the accomplishing of it. Why then this (it must be considered) does quite enervate St. *Paul's* supposition, who supposes us led by such a gracious spirit ; mov'd merely by our love, and zeal to the glory of God in the greater manifestation of his Grace ; and yet still to continue , and go on in our sin. Which then, and though upon this brave design, is so far from excusing, or lessening our sin, that it makes it indeed out of measure sinfull. As whereby we abuse that good Spirit to patronize villany ; couple together light, and darkness ; Christ, and *Belial*. And therefore the answer in short is this. That 'tis not the spirit of God that chalks out these ways : But in what holy pretensions, or sheeps cloathing soever it may appear unto us, which shall be so well counterfeited in the spirit, or principle, *Satan* transforming himself into an Angel of Light, as really to deceive all our senses, not at all to be discerned, or distinguished by us, onely by the ways it puts us upon, and prompts us to. By the fruits ye shall know it. Which fruits, you see, and sinfull courses, and ways, would be no distinguishing character, and evidence of a false, and evil spirit, if (as you suppose) it might at some time be the very way,
and

and fruit of the good Spirit of God. And therefore, how much safer is it, when such ways, and Doctrines occur to us; when we meet with such kind of practices, and such kind of professors in the World, not to think our selves concern'd in charity to them to blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and to torture the Spirit of God (how obsolete, and out dated soever) that it may possibly whisper such a meaning? But rather, *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches:* Not what it whispers in private to *Jaeh*; but what it says, and speaks out unto the Churches. Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, says St. Paul (*ἐπεὶ λέγει* expressly, and so without all possible danger of being mistaken, and misconstrued in it) *That in the latter times men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of Devils.* And as expressly again; *That in the last days men shall be lovers of themselves; Traytours, heady, highminded, &c.* Now then, when we observe plainly Traytours, and heady, and highminded persons; and these justifying themselves in such their treason, and ambition, by pretences of the spirit, what should we need to look any farther? The spirit has call'd it expressly *A seducing spirit; and their doctrine, The Doctrine of Devils.*

But here you seem to come off, and are willing to abate much of the rigour of *Jaeh*. That instance of *Jaeh*, you acknowledge before, was the weakest part of your Discourse, and most unfit to have stress laid on it, And sure if Conquest (as you presume to judge) were sought for by me; what should hinder me from returning with an *Εμπειρία* as soon as I set out? *Ex ore proprio; & Habes con-*

constitem reum, gives such a glut of Victory, as makes one truly to be more than Conquerour. But Edification carries me yet farther, even to examine in it that which you call the right Apprehension (as it is now, I suppose, rectified) and the professed drift of that Instance.

S E C T I O N IV.

All the drift of that Instance, say you, was but to shew that the people of God now (or some few of them) may possibly have the same extraordinary warrant against this *Babel*, as those of Old had against that, and against the *Canaanites* before. And truly if that were all intended by it, then *Jael*, I must needs say, was somewhat unluckily chosen. Your agreement with her in Lying, and Treachery, being so very visible, and above board, which is indeed the very life of your cause, especially to be preserved, and supported by you; and wherein onely she could be pitch'd upon as a particular example for your turn; different from *Joshua*, and the rest of *Israel*. Who as they lie more open, and obvious to your view in the Book of God: So are all, and every one of them no less proper instances (to be sure) for the extraordinary warrant you speak of, than *Jael* could ever be imagined to be. But taking it as you now set it; and so shuffling up *Jael* in common with the rest. It shews, say you, That the people of God now, or some few of them may possibly have the same extraordinary warrant against this *Babel*, as those of Old had against the *Canaanites*. If it shews onely that they may possibly have it: Then it shews that it is more probable

E

they

they have it not. The extraordinary warrant would cease to be extraordinary, if in the like cases it were not general, and ordinary to be otherwise. And therefore how little encouragement have we from hence to presume, or engage upon it? This is plainly confess'd in the pleading an extraordinary warrant; that whosoever is sav'd in so doing, it must be merely by a very unheard of, and extraordinary way.

But secondly, How does this extraordinary warrant against the *Canaanites* shew, that there may now be possibly the same extraordinary warrant against us? As if one should argue; Because the World was once drowned, therefore there may possibly be a Deluge again. Shall not the word of God lay a sufficient bar, and impossibility against the Deluge? And does not Christ give us a Rainbow, a sufficient warrant against this Warrant, in that he gives us Laws, and Precepts to the contrary? Disclaims any such extraordinary warrant in himself. And has censured it by his Holy Spirit, as the effects merely of Pride, and Ignorance in any that shall now pretend unto it?

But Thirdly, How if *Israel's* warrant against *Canaan* was not so very extraordinary? If *Israel* had a right to *Canaan* foregoing the warrant; then the warrant was not in this respect extraordinary, or creative of a right where there was none: And therefore cannot be thought to shew any thing in your case. Now *S. Epiphanius*, and *S. Augustine*, both lay it down as a Tradition from their Fathers, *à patribus traditam, & verissimam causam*, says *S. Augustine*, that the Land of *Canaan* was given of Old by *Noah* to *Shem*, and his posterity, and accordingly

*Epiph. lib. 2.
contr. Hæres.
Tom. 2. hæres.
66.*

*S. Aug. Ser.
de Tem. 105.
Tom. 10.*

dingly possessed by them till they were driven out by the force, and injury of the Children of *Cham*. Montac. Ap. par. pag. 10. Which is attested likewise by *Jacobus Edeffenus*, mentioned by *Moses Bar Cepha*, as a thing of immemorial record (*Vetustæ famæ*) among the *Syrians*; That *Noah* before the Flood inhabited the country afterwards called *Canaan*. Which after the Flood, says he, he bequeathed to his Son *Shem* for an inheritance. And *S. Epiphanius* makes it good by this Argument. Because *Melchisedeck* (who was certainly *Shem*, or some of *Shem's* posterity, and so the Father of *Israel*) had his Throne at *Jerusalem*, and is acknowledged king of *Salem* in the land of *Canaan*. So that all the after donation was no more but a Restitution: And the extraordinary warrant God's extraordinary encouragement, and assurance of them against those unjust Intruders. And thus the *Canaanite* is laid at your own doors; and the warrant serv'd upon your selves. But if this plea of *Israel's* right against *Canaan* as previous, and preceding to God's warrant will not be granted, though founded, as you see, upon so good reason, and such great authority:

Yet Fourthly, That which makes a manifest difference between you, and *Israel*, and so takes off the instance from being at all usefull to you, plainly declaring that there cannot be that Divine warrant in you, or any of you, to pull down our *Babel* (as you please to call the Established Government of our Church, and Kingdom) as God gave the people of *Israel* against the *Canaanites*, is this; For that you could not possibly doe it having so many sacred ties, and obligations upon your souls to the contrary; but by ways, and means which the

Spirit of God hates, and disavows. Whereas the *Israelites* (if they had not a former right, yet) having no former tye of subjection, or Allegiance to *Canaan*; here was room left for the Spirit of God to bestow it upon them, as having no sacred bond: that is to say, They not being tied up before by the Spirit of God against it. Which when once they are; As particularly by their Oath to the *Gibeonites*: though these *Gibeonites* were formerly within their Charter, or Commission; and though this Oath was wrested from them by guile (as you pretend once Kings were at the peoples disposing; and these Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance wrested from the people by mere encroachments) yet then they are so fast tied, as no former donation on God's part to them (which certainly is equal at least to your mistaken prophecies) nor no opportunities, and advantages they had afterwards against them (which were as great every day, as you have against us at this day; and which are the onely ground whereon you build your dispensation) could dispense with it. But the violation of this Oath taken by the Fathers in the days of *Joshua* (so jealous, and tender is God of his honour in the matter of Oaths; so severe an Avenger against them that falsify his Name) is punished upon the Children of the Third, or Fourth generation, in the days of *David*. And therefore, however you might pretend perhaps an extraordinary warrant dormant from God against *Spain*; and in your present expedition to the *Indies*; if the ill success has not already cancell'd it: Yet, (blessed be God) there cannot be here so much as a pretence; in that you are already tied up by God against it: that is to say, Under the seal,

seal, and Oath of God. *I counsel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* Ecclef. 8. 2. And whatever inconveniences, and disadvantages you groan'd under in the former Government; you were to wait with patience upon God for a redress. Who as he had brought you into these bonds, and under this Government without your sin: So could no doubt without your sin (for he has no need of a wicked man) and would (if it had seem'd good in his sight) have released you from it, by turning the heart of the King (whose heart particularly for this reason it is said, is in the hand of the Lord) or else by cutting off the King, and so the Royal line, by any of his arrows; as Pestilence immediately by his own hand; or War from abroad instrumentally by the hand of others; or what other way might seem best to his Divine Wisdom. Onely you of all others could not be lawfully the authours, or instruments of his change. God does no where side with perjury; nor has given any man licence to sin, or commission to doe wickedly: But is a swift witness against the false Swearer; and most sadly, and severely reckons for it in his own people, as whereby his Name is blasphemed; and his truth, and Gospel evil spoken of, and rejected among the Heathen.

And from hence it is that, *Nebuchadnezzar* coming up the first time against *Jerusalem*; The King of *Judah*, and his people were no where reprov'd by God or his Prophets, for resisting, and standing out against him; but surely did their duty in it; though God was not pleas'd to bless their endeavours; but for their former sins, and provocations deliver'd them into his hand. But when *Zedekiah*,
after

after an Oath taken to *Nebuchadnezzar*, finds an opportunity to cast off the yoke, and rebelled against him, *he rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar*, it is said, *who had made him swear by God.* Then *Nebuchadnezzar* coming up a second time against *Jerusalem*, God by the Prophet *Jeremiah* warns both *Zedekiah*, and the people, not to strike a stroke, or think of holding out the City against him. Which *Zedekiah* still refusing, is accordingly punished with a fore destruction; whereof God himself is pleased to give this account. *He rebelled against him* (viz. *Zedekiah* against *Nebuchadnezzar*) *in sending his Ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses, and much people. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that does such things? Or shall he break the Covenant and be delivered?* Where you may observe; not his wicked design; not his ambitious or self-ends are condemned in breaking of it (for his end was possibly pious, and good; might colour I am sure for far more Justice, and Religion than can be pretended in your case) But his very breach of the Covenant; his falsifying his Oath, is that which is there urged against him: as that which, let his end be what it will, can never be authoriz'd, or countenanc'd by the good spirit; can never be capable of God's blessing upon it. For that is the force, or meaning of the words put interrogatively, or by way of Question, to put it out of Question. Shall he escape that does such things? (*Talia not Taliter*) Shall he break the Covenant, and be deliver'd? *i. e.* it is utterly impossible: Neither he, nor any other shall ever receive a blessing from God upon such practices, and therefore sure can never be authoriz'd by God to doe them.

An

An Oath being both in God, and men, for confirmation, and an end of all strife; *πάσης ἀντιλογίας πείρας*, that there might not be room left for a word more to be said against it (And therefore God, though he sometimes alters his word, or promise, as having always a tacite condition imply'd, *1 Sam. 2. 30.* Yet never his Oath, *Heb. 6. 17. Psal. 89. 34.*) And pray consider, how far short it would fall of this end, if there were place left for this pretension of God's Spirit against it. Which if it be true at any time, might be so always, or at least always might be so pretended, whereby strife would become undeterminable; and there would be no end at all of contention. But whenever I plead this breach of Oath how evident, and apparent soever against any man: Or whenever the Magistrate proceeds to punish it in the falsest, and most perjur'd person, we must both run this hazard of fighting against God. Which, as it blunts, and turns the edge of God's sword in the hand of the Magistrate by this inextricable uncertainty, and discouragement, cannot therefore proceed from that God, who has put the sword into his hand to execute wrath against them that doe evil. And as it opens a gap to all falseness, and confusion, by taking away the ancient landmark, as it were, and boundaries of peace; that onely which puts an end to all strife, and contention, can have no title, nor pretence to that spirit of God, who is not the authour of confusion, *1 Cor. 14. 33.* but of peace, as in all parts, and places of the world; so especially among Christians (and therefore no cause of Christ, no fulfilling of his Prophecies, no pulling down of *Babel*, can warrant us to it) in all the Churches of the Saints.

Sir,

“ Sir, I have been the longer in this, that I may
 “ be the shorter in the rest, and cut off all farther
 “ pretensions to a Commission in any of you for the
 “ present change, by proving you all incapable of
 “ it: that *De Jure* you cannot have it; and there-
 “ fore *De Facto* have it not. Though, supposing you
 “ capable, and so in *potentia* for it, your Argu-
 “ ments fall infinitely short of proving that actually
 “ you have any.

S E C T I O N V.

For first, In order to your proof, you suppose,
 That *Babel* is to be destroyed in a warlike way by
 the people of God; and this, say you, plainly e-
 nough. Truly, that *De futuro* it is to be so de-
 stroyed, I conceive, is not over plain. For that
 men of singular Learning and Piety, and not brib'd
 by any particular Interest, have upon diligent search
 and enquiry, otherwise concluded of it, viz. *Hugo*
Grotius, Dr. *Hammond*, and others. Who have all
 proved, and that perhaps plainly enough too, that
 That Prophecy is already fulfilled in the destruction
 of *Jerusalem*, and *Rome* heathen. But to give you
 scope here likewise, and grant that *Babel* remains
 yet to be destroyed: What passages are those in the
 Revelation which give you so plainly the length of
 the weapon too? And from whence you conclude
 it must be in a warlike way? Sir, It is a saying in
 Philosophy, *Unumquodq; nutritur iisdem principiis*
ex quibus fit; Every thing is to be propagated, and
 preserved by the same principles by which it was
 planted. Now, This warlike way you mention
 was never chosen by our Lord, we know, for the
 bring-

bringing Christianity into the world. And why then for the spreading, and growth of it? And being expressly, and professedly disclaimed in the beginning, how comes it now to be so pious, and necessary in the conclusion? *The weapons of our warfare*, says St. Paul, *are not carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, &c.* And so speaking of this very *Babel*, this Mass, and man of sin to be destroyed. *Whom the Lord shall consume*, says he, (not with Sword or Spear, but) *with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, i.e. by the powerfull evidence and illustration of his Holy Spirit in the Gospel.* 2 Cor. 10. 4. 2 Thes. 2. 8.

The *Babel* to be destroyed is a spiritual Kingdom; not the persons of wicked men, but their lusts, and spiritual fornications: the Heathenism, and Idolatry of *Rome*, and not the Empire, or Emperours, of it. The evil principles, say you, both in relation to Spirituall, and Civils, which ruled most eminently in it. Which being spiritual, is therefore shotfree; falls not under the reach, or power of a material sword to be wounded by it. And therefore when we reade some expressions in the Revelation sounding generally this way: as of warring, and killing, and the like, we must remember that this Book is a Prophecy; and so written in a Prophetical style. Wherein Christ's Victory over the hearts, and spirits of men is ordinarily describ'd in those military terms; and as making use of such engines, and instruments, as Kings and Captains are wont to doe in the management of their wars.

But to retrench all this too; and supposing it plainly, and downright in a warlike way: yet why must this be done by the people of God? (For

to the people, I presume, you mean in opposition to Princes, and Governours; else it serves not at all to your purpose) Whenas yet the ten Horns in the 17th Chapter of the Revelation, and 16th verse, who are manifestly said to be ten Kings, in the 12th verse of that Chapter, *are those that shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate, and naked, &c.* And surely, Sir, I dare be positive in this, whatever should become of the rest, That no Prophecy, or prediction in the whole Bible can secure subjects, and private persons, much less oblige them to such a war.

And herein 'twill be worth your while to consider *David's* case; and observe the judgment he makes upon it. God had foretold, and promised, that the Kingdom of *Israel*, *Saul* being now rejected, should be Established upon *David*. To which he was therefore actually anointed by *Samuel*. Which highly exasperating the rage, and
 3 Sam. 24. madness of *Saul* against him, after many private attempts in vain, and without success; he causelessly pursues poor innocent *David*; and musters up all the Trainbands, and Militia of his Kingdom to destroy him. But *David* still shifting, and flying for his life, takes sanctuary at last in the sides of a Cave. Whither *Saul*, being in his march after him, by chance turns aside from his Army, for the easement of Nature, and so falls singly and unawares into *David's* hands. But *David*, and his Men, being all this while unseen, or unperceiv'd by him, were in Consultation what they had now to doe. *David* was design'd by God, and anointed to the Kingdom; most unjustly persecuted, and hunted, as a Partridge upon the Mountains, by this very *Saul*, who is now in his hands. So far from a
 Crown,

Crown, which yet God had promised him, that as long as *Saul* liv'd and at liberty, he could not but be every day in eminent peril of death: To which he might hereafter be thought necessary himself; as likewise of the frustrating God's promise to him concerning the Kingdom, if he should let slip this present advantage; and regardless of this signal providence of God in bringing *Saul* so strangely and unexpectedly into his hands, should suffer him to escape. And to this purpose his Officers mind him how this wonderfull piece of providence was exactly in answer to a former Prophecy. Wherein God had promised to bring *David's* enemy into his hand, that he might doe to him what seemed good unto him. But all these arguments how fair and demonstrative soever they might seem to others, *David* easily discerns to be fallacious. God's anointing him to the Crown did not dispence with him from obedience to his Commands; or privilege him therefore to be his own Carver. He that spake it had ways enough of bringing it about; though *David* continued still in his integrity. He shall one day descend into the Battel, says *David*, and perish. Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked, but my hand shall not be upon him. Though *Saul* be injurious towards him, and forget his duty as a King in persecuting, and pursuing the blood of an innocent Subject, whom he ought rather to protect, and defend: Yet this will give *David* no advantage of renouncing his Allegiance, or rising up against the life of his Sovereign. And therefore the Prophecy (if *Saul* be the enemy intended in it) is yet no command; nor carries any the least shadow of allowance, or dispensation with it, to doe what is evil

in God's Eyes. Whereby it will be apparent that this great providence of God in the fulfilling, and completion of this Prophecy, and bringing *Saul* into his hands, was but for a greater trial, which God was pleased to make of his Faith, and Loyalty; to tempt, and prove him (as he did *Abraham* before) whether he would make use of any indirect course for the bringing about pious, and religious ends. Or whether, as he had received the promise of the Kingdom from God's mere favour to him, he could now rely, and rest himself wholly upon his power, and wisdom, even against all the seeming difficulties, and impossibilities of flesh, and blood, for the enstating it upon him. Wherein he so piously acquits himself, as notwithstanding the Prophecy they mention to him, and this Providence before his eyes, together with that carnal prudence, which was questionless suggested to him; he lets *Saul* escape. Not onely refuses to be his judge, not onely absents himself from the sentence, and execution; but urges, and pleads, and persuades with his Men not to meddle with him. *Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed and be guiltless?* Thus subduing the Kingdom, and obtaining the promise by Faith (as

Heb. 11. 33.

it is witnessed of him) while he seems to undoe all; to frustrate the promise, and forfeit his claim to the Kingdom for God's sake, or rather, than be guilty of sin in the procuring of it.

And now let us look back a while; and put your case in the same balance with *David's*; and see if you fall not so much short of him in the premisses, as you have wickedly out-dar'd, and outdone him in the Conclusion. *David* was elected by God, and actually anointed by his holy Prophet

Prophet to the Kingdom. You were tied up under the Oath of God against it : So far from any lawfull possibility of taking the Kingdom to your selves, as you were obliged with life, and limb to prevent the designs, and Conspiracies of any other ; and to secure it to the King, and his Heirs alter him for ever. *David* was an innocent injur'd person ; one that by *Saul's* appointment had done most eminent, and almost miraculous service against his enemies ; beside many personal, and particular obligations to *Saul* himself. In reward whereof he is now bloudily pursued by *Saul*, and all the power of *Israel*, to take away his life. Whereas you, after many concessions, and Acts of Grace from the King, drive him away from his own house with Tumults, and popular violence ; pursue him immediately with an Army ; imbitter the minds, and mouths of the people with all the foulest, and falsest reproaches that could be spit against him ; rob him of his whole revenue ; turn the deaf ear to all his desires of returning ; and maliciously prevent, and frustrate his renewed messages, and petitions (as I may so term them) for peace, and accommodation. And then lastly for the Providence, that signal providence of God in bringing the King into your hands ; which must be thought to supersede all this ; and not onely so, take away the poison, and malignity of this *Coloquintida*, like stirring the water with the Unicorns-horn ; but baptize all these your trayterous, and disloyal actions, into just, and necessary, and religious. Nay urge, and engage you farther, First to imprison, and then to Murder your Sovereign (For so the following of providence is made the onely *via recta* ; and wherewith you as easily silence, and swallow

swallow up all arguments, and objections brought against you ; as *Moses's* serpent did the serpents of the Magicians) This case of Providence, I say, of all other runs widest from the parallel ; and wherein God did as plainly discriminate himself to you, and *David* ; as *David*, and you have differenc'd, and discriminated your selves from each other in the contrary use, and application of it. For whereas *Saul* indeed was brought by God's providence, according to his former promise into *David's* hands, while he had never the least aim, or design at any such thing ; but always declin'd it, and was now in his flight, lurking here in this Cave merely for fear, and thereby to avoid him who was furiously now upon his March after him. What was there of this, I beseech you, in your case ? Nay say, if all things were not quite contrary. For beside your no promise, or prophecy for it, how many precepts, and penalties are urged by God against it ? Beside your not declining to get the King into your power as *David* did, how many wicked arts, and stratagems are put in practice to bring it about ? And whereas you might have thought it something of Providence, it may be, to have kill'd the King at random ; or to have taken him prisoner in the field, in any one of those great successes you had upon his party (though 'tis sure, Where God is shut out of the cause, and quarrel ; as in that of subjects against their Sovereign, there can be no pretence at all of his providence in whatever he suffers to be brought about) yet it is very observable ; and wherein it would well become you to take notice of God's providence ; That besides those Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance

renewed

renued by you at your entrance into the Parliament, or before you could sit there in any capacity to consult, and carry on the war against him: How did God provide for the King's safety; when you your selves, even of your selves, without the King did engage your selves, and the whole Kingdom; First, by a Protestation: And Secondly, your selves, and your whole party, even without, and against the King's consent, by a Solemn Vow, and Covenant, never to be forgotten, to defend, and preserve his Person, and Honour? And when all this could not get him into your hands, how did God provide for the King again? when all his party being slain generally, and slain into your hands, He yet carries him into the *Scots* army; where you could not compass him at last but by fresh Engagements of safety, and honour to his Person? Nor is he yet in your hands; your hands I mean of the Army, who pretended at last to have power over him (of which no other account can be given, I think, than that of Providence) till by new Treasons, and Rebellions you had plainly acknowledged the depth, and desperateness of your former villany. And by rising up against your own Masters, and violently snatching the King from them once at *Holmeby*, and again at the Isle of *Wight* (by whose authority, and Commission onely you were put into arms against him; and whereby you did seem, and seek to excuse your selves from the crime of Rebellion in so doing) you did thereby manifestly accuse, and condemn your selves for it. So that nothing hardly, I may say, was ever permitted by God, that was more fully, and sufficiently provided against by him. Who in farther care of the King's safety, and pre-

preservation (besides the many several and plain Laws both Humane and Divine, and your own voluntary wilfull Oaths to this purpose) yet lest he should fall into your hands, the barbarous bloody hands of the Army, God did damm up the way against it by a complication of Treasons mutually accusing, and bearing witness against each other (whereby the King was yet as safe from falling into your hands, as it was certain you would not condemn your selves) For thus your first rising up against the King under the authority of the two houses, must plainly condemn your disobedience, and Insurrection afterwards against them. And your rising up against the two Houses afterwards leaves your former Rebellion against the King without excuse. And if this must be still called providence, 'twill certainly be in this; That, In your seizing at last upon the King, God has brought you to condemn your selves, and wash off with your own hands that *fucus*, and paint of a supreme authority in the houses, wherewith you did formerly colour your Rebellion against the King; and shelter it from being seen, and discover'd by the people.

But then this kind of Providence sure will be far enough from engaging you to that horrid perpetration which pretends to derive from it. And if *David* (who had he dispatched *Saul* out of the way, had been instantly rightfull King, as being the next undoubted Heir) could yet find no such construction to be made possibly of that eminent providence, wherein it pleased God to appear to him: I can never sufficiently wonder at the quicksightedness of these men, who from a permission onely to which they have waded in blood; and wrested from God
by

by desperate impenitent provocations) of getting the King into their hands, should spy out at this vast distance an evident call to Power, and Sovereignty, in themselves, by taking away his life; and thereby an Obligation upon them for so doing. *David*, who had a right to the Crown dares not yet possess himself of it by this Act; which these men look upon as so meritorious, that the very committing of this Act must be rewarded upon them by God with Crowns, and Sceptres, and Kingdoms; and create them a right out of their former Nothing. Whereas no Robbery, or Murther upon the highway, but has a much better title to Providence. And I should hugely condemn the *Laodicean* temper of that Souldier, who after this should be so cold a Christian as not to follow Providence in cutting the throat of every one that falls into his hands. Good Sir, *Secret things belong unto the Lord: but those that are revealed, unto us and to our Children for ever.* Deut. 29. 29. And whatever God pleases to permit for our tryals; we have yet a sure word of prophecy to guide us in our practice. *Whereto we should doe well to take heed*, says the Apostle, *as unto a light shining in a dark place.* And whereby *David*, you see, in the darkness, and opportunity of the Cave, was yet directed not to quench the light of *Israel*; or stretch forth his hand against the Lord's Anointed.

But this whole instance of *David*, though extended to so great a length, will easily be voided by you, I perceive. While granting a difference indeed between your selves, and *David*; and so in the ways of God's Providence towards you, and him, which I so much urge, and so clearly demonstrate:

G

There

There is yet a third difference you will reply, which I have said nothing of; and wherein the advantage lies on your side, to so great a degree as will fetch up the other scale, and make all even. And how contrary soever your actions were, his in saving, and yours in destroying: Yet the vast difference of the subject matter whereon you wrought will easily reconcile them, and allow them both to be Religious. For to destroy a Tyrant may be an equal act of Piety, as to honour, and preserve a just King. To pull down *Babylon* is as acceptable a service to God as to uphold the building of *Jerusalem*.

Tyrannus a Tyrant, we must know therefore, does Originally signifie a King, the same with *Rex*, or one in Sovereign Power, without particularly specifying whether good or bad; till Use, the great Arbitratour of words, and master of language, had appropriated it onely to bad Kings, whom we call Tyrants. Yet with this latitude as comprehending under it *Tyrannos titulo*, those who are tyrannical, and unjust in the very obtaining of the Sovereignty as Invaders, and Usurpers: secondly, *Tyrannos exercitio*, those who though good, and rightfull Possessours, are yet tyrannical, and exorbitant in the use of it. And to this first part in the distinction, viz. As it is taken for those who violently, and injuriously Usurp a Sovereignty: It holds for true, and Orthodox, that to destroy such may be an act of equal piety, as to honour and preserve a just King. And the reason is; because indeed it is the same. *Una, eadēq;*

Lex erat Qui Tyrannum occideris. Olympionicarum premium capio: Et quam volet sibi rem à Magistratu. deposcito Et Magistratus ei concedito. Pet. Avod. 6. 9. 1. Multa etiam exempla enumerat Tyrannicidarum, qui pramiis Et honoribus afficiebantur. pag. 695.

Quare De Concil. Constantiensi. Ji. 15.

manus

manus vulnus, opemq; tulit. And while I destroy the Usurper, I do plainly in the same act save, and defend the true King, whose right it is. But then Tyrant in the second part of the distinction, and as it signifies (without impeaching their right, or title to the Crown) such Sovereign Rulers as oppress the people that are under them; there is yet a *Noli me tangere* upon them to every particular person, though highly injured by them, and favoured by God as *David*. And a *Nolite tangere Christos meos* to what conjunctions, and combinations of men soever. Their persons are sacred and inviolable, typified by the Holy Oil wherewith the Kings of *Israel* were consecrated, and appropriated to God; and thereby exempted from the common lot, in that they were the Lord's anointed. *Who can stretch forth his hand? &c.* And though wicked, and unjust they be; though forward, and ungente, we are yet to be subject to them, says *St. Peter*. And while they come in at the door by a fair, and lawfull claim; and not climb in at the windows by violence and forcible Usurpation, (which is perfectly the character of Thieves, and Robbers, though they should by this means gain the possession) while they sit in *Moses's* seat by lawfull succession, and descent from him; we are still to obey, and attend unto them, though they bind heavy burthens upon our shoulders (as our Saviour tells us of those *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*) and grievous to be born. Where, by the way, if you please to take but this one note along with you, 'twill give some dispatch to the whole difference between us. That 'tis not the personal wickedness; nor yet the cruel, and severe impositions of our lawfull

Mat. 23.

Governours, that can give us the liberty therefore to refuse, and reject them; though they be as great Opposers of Christ, and as great Oppressours of the people as the *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*. *They sit in Moses's seat, therefore whatsoever they say unto you, that observe, and doe.* So nor secondly does the bare possession of *Moses's seat*, or rather the Throne, and Sceptre of *David*, the sheepfold, and sheephook, if they have forc'd their entrance into it by unlawfull, and prohibited ways, give a right to any of reigning over us, or make them the true Shepherds, but they are *eo Nomine* Thieves, and Robbers. *Verily, verily I say unto you; He that entereth not by the door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way: the same is a Thief and a Robber: And so to be lookt upon for ever by the sheep; who owe them therefore neither Audience, nor Obedience, neither to hear nor follow them.*

Joh. 10.

Chrylost. in
loco cit. per
Montac. pag.
258.

I need not be told that these two Instances of our Saviour's concerning sitting in *Moses's seat*, and entering by the door into the sheepfold, are applyed by him to the Pastours, and Fathers of the Church; and not to the Civil Magistrate or Father of the Countrey. And truly I could wish, heartily wish, that they might be allowed to hold there. For then we should not have taken liberty from the personal failings, and pretended doctrinal errors (which were much more visible, and notorious in the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) of our former authorized Teachers the Bishops, and Clergy of this land. who sit as demonstrably in the Throne of the Apostles, and by due Ordination successively from them; as the *Scribes*, and *Pharisees* of Christ's time in *Moses's seat*, to renounce them, and cast them off. So nor secondly

ly should we be so far infatuated as to hearken after these our upstart Teachers, and intruding Rabbies, who having no lawfull call, or entrance into the pastoral charge, which they possess, not coming in by the door; plainly discover themselves for Thieves and Robbers. But notwithstanding the occasion of our Saviour's words in this place was indeed proper, and particular, (as no wise man speaks at random) yet the design, and force of them is general; manifestly reaching at all Authority to be submitted to, if lawfully descending; though upon wicked, and unjust Rulers sitting in *Moses's* seat. So on the other side to be opposed, and rejected; not to be lookt upon as the authority of Rulers; but as the force, and outrage of Robbers when usurpt by violent, and unlawfull ways.

Thus while *David* bears still an awefull reverence, and respect to *Saul*, bloody, and Tyrannical *Saul*, even after *Saul's* disobedience against God, and God's repenting that he had made *Saul* King; after God's good Spirit had forsaken him, and he was now possessed, and actuated by an evil spirit (which might have made up at least as great a noise, and accusation as Evil Councillours! did amongst us) Nay after he had so far hearkn'd, and was led by it, as to make several attempts against *David's* life; and actually to destroy, without any process at all, a whole City of God's Priests in the highest degree of rage, and inhumanity that has been heard of. For so it must be observ'd that *David's* tenderness, and respect to *Saul* in the Cave, was after he had been guilty of all this. As this, I say, gives a full proof of Reverence, and Obedience to Sovereign Power if lawfully seated, though in a cruel, and unjust person

2 Chron. 23. person sitting in *Moses's* seat : So on the other side we have as clear a proof, in the history of *Athaliah*, how little right goes along with possession; what obedience is due to the commands, or respect to the persons of such Usurpers. For that *Athaliah* having by Murther of the seed Royal made her way unto the Throne, and continued her possession six years (longer than our new Master can yet pretend to) is at length, without any scruple at all, dethroned, and dispossest, and executed by good *Jehoiada* the High Priest, in the right of young *Joash*, who alone had escaped the Axe of all the King's Sons; and appears now to make his claim, and challenge of the Crown. Thus bloody *Saul*, yet sitting in *Moses's* seat, and lawfull Sovereignty, is honoured and rever'd by the holy prophet *David*. And *Athaliah*, though possessed of the same seat, and sovereignty; yet because in another's wrong; because her entrance into it was not by the door, or lawfull way; but she had climb'd into it by Treason, and Rebellion, and Bloud, is therefore despised, and destroyed by the High Priest *Jehoiada*.

I forbear purposely the many advantages laid before me in the Copy, or counterpart of this Story: How *Athaliah's* right, as Queen Mother, might better colour for Sovereignty; than if she had been, as ours, of the lowest, and meanest of the people. And sure the lustre, and excellency of our late King needs not the foil of a bloody *Saul* to set him off. But because your exceptions lie not at all against the King (who was wont to bear the load, and envy of all your former Declamations) but against the Kingdom it self; that very

very form, and constitution of Government whereby He was King, and we subjects, terming it *Babel*, and so to be destroyed. Thither likewise I direct my discourse. And easily freeing our Government; I doubt not but to discover, the *Babel* you speak of, in your own building; and bury all your objections in the ruins, and rubbish of it.

S E C T I O N VI.

For first, The *Medium* whereby you would prove us *Babylon*, viz. From that implicit obedience we profess, and acknowledge to the King, does immediately reach at God himself; make him a *Babylonian* too; both as the authour of Government in general, and of this particular way of Government set up, and established in our land. For every Government, that is truly so, does necessarily suppose an irresistibility some where, either in one, or more persons to make it a government, and distinguish it from confusion. Which is all we mean I am sure, or that you would impose upon us, I think, by implicit Faith, viz. either actively to obey his Majesty's just, and legal commands; or when they prove illegal, and unjust, patiently to bear the penalty annexed, rather than resist, and rise up against him. And that this is necessary to all Governments; and fit, and prudent that we should be thus governed, I will now demonstrate.

For Government being the orderly framing, and squaring of many single, and divided persons into one Body: there must necessarily be in every Government some common point of Unity wherein they

they must all concentre, and meet, and become One. Some last appeal, and determination to which they must all submit; and from whence the Government takes its name, and denomination, either of Popular, or Democratical, if the last appeal be to the people: of Aristocratical, if to a Counsel of State: of Regal, or Monarchical, if to One person. And the supposing a liberty left us to reject and resist against any such determination, when it is, or is apprehended by us, unjust, or inconvenient (This being the very end, and essence of Governours, as the Apostle expresses it, *That we may lead peaceable, and quiet lives.* Who must therefore necessarily have *Jus gladii*, the Power of the sword, whereby to furnish them for this end. They, and none but They, and so are irresistible) does plainly mutilate, and Null the Government; dissolve the Body; and leave us, as we were, single, and divided Persons. *Non jam ædes, sed cumulus exit.* We may be a heap indeed; but not a house, not a building, not a Body. For no Body can be legally, and naturally at variance with its self. This being that which distinguishes one Body, and so one Government, from another: *England* from *Spain*, *Spain* from *France*, &c. And to say, That in every Government the people are still the ultimate Judges, and Arbitratours, is to say One of these Two: Either that there is no other Government but Popular; or that Order, and Government is the very same thing with Ataxie, and Confusion. For as in a Popular state, it were perfectly unlawfull, and the mother of Confusion, to follow one Prince-ringleader, or some few of the Nobles, in opposition to the Major part of the People: So
it

it, is the same thing in a Monarchy or Kingdom (to be sure) upon the peoples account more, or less, to rise up, and rebell against the King.

'Tis true, that in either state I am not to obey an unjust command. Herein I am already preposessed, and prevented by God. But this is no infringing of the Sovreignty of our Rulers, which must onely be acknowledged under God. And while I reserve to execute, or actively obey them in sin, I still preserve my fidelity to God, disavow my self the servant of men. And yet by submitting to the penalty, I preserve the end, and design of Government, *viz.* peaceable, and quiet living: and set the Governours upon their proper Thrones *Solo Deo minores.* All which is overthrown by resistance. The Governours displac'd by setting my self above them; or at least in an Independency, and equality with them; which is necessarily supposed in resistance, Government casheir'd, and render'd ineffectual.

And as the *Jews* when in opposition to Christ they were very zealous for the honour of their Master *Moses*, and their own freedom, for that they were freeborn (never were in bondage, say they, to any man) did therein especially dishonour *Moses*, and enslave themselves. So we make our selves purely the slaves, and servants of men, by engaging with them in an unlawfull resistance, though in pretence of our liberty. And never more highly deny, and dishonour Christ, than when in this kind of way we pretend most to his honour, and service: by despising that Government, and these Governours, whom God the Father (as I may so say) has sanctified, and sent
H into

into the world. For so Government, and Magistracy were absolutely erected by God in the first Creation, giving the Sovereignty to Mankind over the rest of his workmanship. And again, in the distinction, and differencing of Sexes, Man had the Sovereignty over the Woman determin'd upon him by his primogeniture, or being first formed, as the

1 Tim. 2. 13. *Apostle argues. For Adam was first formed then Eve:* And so manifestly before the fall, and no mishapen piece of corrupt Nature. And again, in the production, and procreation of Children, the Parents had a Sovereignty, and Dominion over those that were begotten by them. Which how limited, and confin'd soever it were (for that it seems all this while not to reach unto life: The power of Life, and Death being reserved in God's hand, and as his peculiar) was yet certainly in every Species of it sacred, and irresistible to those that were under it.

And now when after the Flood, which came upon the Old world for their sins, and because there was no Magistrate effectually to curb them, and cut them off (admonitions, and stripes, the family discipline, being much too gentle to restrain their violence) it pleased God in prevention of the like for the time to come, as he assured by a Rainbow to enlarge the Commission even over the Life; and to the shedding the blood of a capital offender.

Gen. 9. 6. *Whoever sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* Yet this was still *Salvo regimine* without any power lawfully in the People either to rise up against him, when he did so; or to sit in Judgment against him, when he neglected to doe so; and from a Judge should debase himself into

into a Malefactor. This appears evidently by the words, and Tenure of his Commission. For as the Magistrates power over life, and death, is acknowledged by all in these words: So his impunity likewise as to the People (though he should be *Socius criminis*, and guilty of the same Crime) will easily be deriv'd from the same Fountain. And, as the Apostle argues, that when the Scripture says in these words, *All things are put under Christ*, it is manifest that he is excepted, who did put all things under him. ^{1 Cor. 15:27} So there is the same Reason, and Manifesto likewise that in these words; *Whosoever sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; The avenger of blood, the man that is to shed the blood of the blood-shedder should absolutely be exempted from it. Who else must be supposed to be under those whom in that very Term, or Title, he is apparently set over. The avenging of their blood being the plain Ensign of his Sovereignty over them. As the Father in being said to put all things under the Son does therein appear to be above him. And therefore how universally affirmative soever the Propositions may seem to be, *All things are put under Christ*: and, *Whosoever sheddeth mans blood*, &c. Yet they are both to be restrained to their proper subjects: and such a truce to be held with the Terms, and parts of the proposition *All*, and *Whosoever*, as not to contradict, and make war against the Tenure, and Design of the whole. Which being once secured, and sav'd harmless; we cannot stretch them beyond their measure. But All things, absolutely All things are to be put under Christ, save the Father. And Whosoever sheddeth mans blood, whether Person,

or People, save the Avenger of blood himself; here is ample Authority to cut them off.

And if this may serve for Government in the general; and to evince an irresistibility necessarily flowing from the nature, and being of it (the Supreme Power in every Oeconomy whatsoever, in that it is the Supreme Power, being not possibly lyable to the Inferiour, or such as derive from it) we will see next what malignant influence there is in Monarchy: or where this supreme power is in one man, as with us by Law it is established, that should quite overthrow the good of Government; and pervert it (as you complain) into the uneasiness, and unsupportableness of a *Babylonian* bondage. And truly if God might be allowed any share, or proportion of wisdom but equal to the conceits which we have of our own Understandings, we should not thus hastily assume against that Form which he was pleased to erect among his own people. Monarchy, even without that contradictory term of Mixt-monarchy adjoyned to it, being next to Theocracy (God's own immediate rule) the constant standing way deputed by him for *Israel*. As appears plainly by *Moses*, who from the mouth of God, before the people in likelihood thought of any such thing, though always forbidding them a conformity with the Nations in sin; and generally for their greater separation, even in their innocent, and harmless customs: Yet in the way of Government, says He, if when ye be settled, and gather into a Body, and grow weary to be govern'd as at this day; and make choice rather of that usage among the Nations (*Inter omnes per circuitum nationes* among all the Nations round about thee)

Deut. 17.

thee) to be ruled by a King: What then? Doth he presently declaim against it, as *Babylonian*, and Antichristian? Or does he name any better Form to intervene? And supposing them to dislike Theocracy as too far removed out of their sight, yet propound them some clearer image, and representation of it, than Monarchy? (as

* Divorce was found out to prevent Murther) No. But sets himself onely to directions; That they should follow God's choice in the election of the Person: And the Person so chosen should follow God's rule in the discharge of his Function.

* Μειζων δ' ἐκκόπουν
κακῶν ἵδ' μὴ καλυμμένους ἐκ-
βαλῆιν, ἀναγκάζειν σφά-
λιν ἕδον ἕως ἡμισυμύ-
ρας ἵδ' ἐλαττον συναγαίην.
S. Chrysost. in IIa. Καρ.
a. 18.

And therefore that God is afterwards offended with them in asking a King; 'tis onely that they did this in distrust, and dislike of his own immediate rule among them. Ye said, *Nay but a King* 1 Sam. 12.
shall reign over us, when The Lord your God was 12.
your King. Which otherwise, and being laid together in the scale with Πάσα κλῖς ἀνθρώπων, of all humane ordinances, and modes of Government by men, is apparently the best. And which God therefore summs up by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, as the crown of beauty, and perfection, which he had put upon the head of *Israel*. *I put a beautifull* Ezek. 16.
Crown upon thy head, and thou didst prosper into a 13, 14
Kingdom. A kingdom, or Monarchy, and that of God's putting on too, was the excellency, and perfection of that people, honoured, and commended by him, not onely by those many Worthies whom he raised up to this Kingly Office, and Calling among them, as *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, and the rest: who were certainly none of them

them *Babylonians*, and Antichrists *virtute Officii*: but also in making choice out of all the Tribes, and Families in *Israel*, that Christ should be born of the Tribe of *Judah*, and the house of *David*, the Tribe, and blood Royal, to whom the Kingship did peculiarly belong.

And that this was absolute Monarchy; or that these Kings were sacred, and inviolable in their persons (which is all you can charge upon us by the No Power you speak of to bound, or limit our King against his will) does appear at large in the sacred story. This being the Manner of the King desired by *Israel*, *qualem habebant vicini*, who were all under a *Παμβασιλεία*, or absolute Monarchy, as is observed by the learned *Grotius*. And so likewise when *Samuel* describes *Jus Regis*, the right and manner of their King, in conformity to those Nations round about: He leaves the People no possible weapon against him, but Prayers and Tears.

1 Sam. 8.

Thus then the Vizzor being taken off; and no such Antichrist, as you would fright us with, appearing under this Form of Monarchical Government, or the King's unlimited power, as you call it, in Civils. We will next take a view of that implicit Faith in Spirituals; the evil principle, as you say, of our Church Government; whereby we are become Antichrists *eo Nomine*, and oppressours of God's people.

And herein give me leave to premise, That you have either discover'd in your self an Evil eye, and enmity towards our Church, beyond our greatest adversaries of *Rome*, by coining a new slander, and reproach against us, more than ever was hammer'd
in

in their forge. Or if true, and no slander; you have then discover'd a monstrous blindness, and stupidity in those Eagle-eyed Doctours, who being so continually urg'd, and argued, and condemn'd by us for this very principle of implicit Faith (and which is indeed the very characteristical difference, and distinction between Us, and them) could never yet after all their poring, and diligence, be able to spy it in This Church; or to justify themselves by returning it upon Us for Protestant doctrine.

But let us hear your proof, and by what symptoms, and indications you judge of the disease. By that evil principle, say you, which denied any power to be above the Church in the Interpretation of Scripture to a particular mans Conscience. Truly, Sir, One had need be very far gone in the disease; and highly infected with the implicit Faith you mention, to believe either the truth of this your Instance in one sense; or the weight, and consequence of it in another. For if by Church be meant the Church in its whole latitude, and due extent, as it is Catholick, and comprehensive of all persons, and all times, then the Apostles, and Primitive Saints being likewise included under that *Æra*; to submit implicitly to their Doctrines, and conform to their practice Universal in point of Discipline, will not be of weight to accuse us. But is certainly more explicit, and reasonable, than any reasons, or conjectures of our own to the contrary: as being founded upon the veracity of God himself; who is *Primus credibilium*, and *Principium credibilitatis*: and so infinitely to be preferr'd by us before ourselves.

But if by Church be meant the church of any one

one Age exclusively to the First, and Purest; or of any one particular Place, and Denomination: Then let the Calumny light where it properly belongs. *Romana Ecclesia est infallibilis.* The Church of England is endued with more modest principles; never attempting to make a new Article of Faith; but carefully preserving the *Depositem*, committed to her trust, whole, and entire; has out of this extracted onely what she apprehended most plainly contained in it, and especially conducing to good life. Which yet, in an humble opinion of her own judgment, she imposes upon none, as Truths universally necessary to Salvation; no, nor generally to be believed. Onely requires of her Clergy Sons before she entrusts them with the Power of the Keys, and the Government of the House of God: That they would thus far own, and honour Her for their Mother, by testifying under their hands; That there is nothing, in such Her Articles, and Enunciations, contrary to the word of God (a rare, and singular example of Christian meekness, and moderation) leaving in the mean time the rest of her children free from any personal, or particular attestations. Being abundantly satisfied, if (agreeing with her in the main; and wherein she has manifestly the express, and explicit Doctrine of the first times for her warrant) they behave themselves in the rest, as her children in their places, and callings, without disturbance of publick peace, or seduction of others.

And where then is that evil principle which restrained the interpretation of Scripture from a particular man's conscience; so that particular man always holding the analogy of Faith, as St. Paul enjoyns,

Rom. 12. 6.
ἡ ἀναλογία
τῆς πίστης.

enjoyns, would be contented to be a particular man still; not subverting her publick Order; or by publishing, and dissembling his private interpretations, make himself popular, and tumultuous? And who will have reason to complain of this, save such, who under the name of Christians, take it ill, that they may not make Gospel of the Alchoran? Or who can call this Tyranny in our Church, which she would gladly submit to and accept (and that is sufficient to wipe off the Tyranny) from any other? And I dare proclaim it in the name of my Mother the Church of England (though the youngest, and very meanest of all her children) that if the Church of *Rome* (with whom she has had the longest, and sharpest contention of any) would go no farther as to necessary matters of Doctrine, than what was so esteemed, and taught by the Church Primitive; nor stretch her discipline beyond that pattern; leaving the rest of her Articles, how true soever she may think them, and so under that name worthy of all commendations, yet as no necessary conditions of her Communion, or of absolute necessity to Salvation: She would then heartily draw together with her in the same yoke: And (yielding her the right hand of Fellowship, and that Primacy of Order, and dignity due unto her Bishop, as being *Præ sedis Episcopus*) carefully maintain the *Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*.

But while the Church of *Rome* absolutely refusing any such conditions, and scorning to be confin'd, does still press her new Articles equally to be received, and submitted to, as the old truths of God, and his Church. We have this to answer for our selves. That it seems very unreasonable

I

that

that we in this latter Age of the Church of Christ (and so at farthest distance from those times of Miracles, and extraordinary visible gifts of God's Spirit, in Confirmation of his Truth) should be tied to believe so much more, upon so much less Evidence. And what was left at liberty then to believe, or not to believe (as many Articles of the present Church of *Rome* confessedly were) should now, without any pretension of new proof, or immediate revelation from Heaven; nay though, in appearance at least, contradicting the manifest truths of God, and our own best Reason; be required of us under pain of Damnation. And while all other Topicks failing them, They heap up testimonies from the Fathers in defence of such their additional Articles, accounting them thus (as the *Gibeonites* with mouldy bread, and clouted shoes) to make us believe that they came from afar, and are of ancient standing in the Church of God. We have apparently this advantage (supposing we could not drop Fathers with them; if they themselves be not too much convinc'd already to suppose any such thing) That if any one Father say but as we say in this point wherein we differ: and another in another: and so of the rest (which an Easie Undertaker might be able to produce) we are not prejudic'd at all by the Number against us. For that from hence it must needs follow; That the contrary to what is so asserted; or but admitted, as probable, by any one Father; was not then received as an Article of Faith, or of necessity to Salvation in the Church of Christ. Which yet now they are not content under any inferiour Character, and Supercription, to obtrude upon us. And have

have withall so weav'd, and mingl'd many of them into their Devotions, as if they delighted to stand alone; thereby forcing, and restraining all the rest of the Christian world from their Communion.

Whereas the Church of *England*, when put to compile a Liturgy; even in Separation, and distinction from the Church of *Rome*, by whom she was cast out, was so far from heat, or spight, or animosity; nay so full of Charity, and Catholick spirit, not in Word, or in Name onely; which the Church of *Rome* does so much glory in, but in deed, and in truth; that she agrees unanimously upon such a Form, as whereby she might gather together into One all that were scatter'd abroad; as having nothing in it offensive, or contrary to the Romanist: or so siding, and agreeing with him, as thereby to distaste the rest of Christians; but acknowledged, and approved by both.

And surely if the Lord's Prayer, which was designed for the Common Prayer of the whole Christian Church, and the very badge, and cognizance of Christ's disciples, may be allowed to hold its place, and made the pattern of all Church Liturgies, as it ought: that Liturgy must needs be acknowledged most Christian, and Catholick (as coming nearest to that Form, and most suitable to that design) not which is most particular, and minute; but which is most comprehensive, and large; and wherein the several differences of the heads, and judgments of Christians, are least suffered to work a Division upon their Hearts, and Spirits, or come into their Prayers. Which, I must take leave again to commend, as the particular Excellency of this Church of Ours, beyond all the Churches

either of the Romanist, or Reformed; as having nothing either in the matter, or ministration of it to be quarrelled at by either. Whereas the Romanist in his matter; and the Reformed in his ministry, are mutually at distance from each other. But our matter being apparently good, and innocent in both their esteems: the Romanist must acknowledge our Ministry a lawfull Ministry, as being the same, and from the same Mission originally with his own. And so the Reformed, however rejecting Episcopacy some of them, and the order of Bishops, which we embrace; yet acknowledge those, whom they reject as Bishops, to be truly Priests *Veri sacerdotes*, and so to have lawfull power of Ordination, and Authorizing others to that Function.

In a word, neither the Ministry, nor Ministration of our Church, could ever be made criminous by any Party, or Division of men whatsoever, professing the Name of Christ, save such of this present generation, who together with Ours, reject all Forms, and all Ministry: Condemning upon that very account the Lord's Prayer; and arguing against any set, and distinct office of Ministry in the Apostles. So that our indictment in their mouths runs thus: That not having the fear of God before our eyes, we have sided with Christ in a set Form of Prayer; and succeeded to the holy Apostles in a select, and authorized Ministry.

But to return from whence I have thus largely digress'd. You are contented at last to see, and acknowledge the excellency of Monarchy, and that according to the establishment of *England* in an Hereditary way above all other ways, and Forms of Government whatsoever.

S E C T-

SECTION VII.

The strongest *Babel*, say you, that can be devis'd to keep a people from being scatter'd into these Confusions, is that Form of absolute Monarchy, and that in an Hereditary way. Well, let that be stood too; and then, however it may be reproached for *Babel* (which it partakes in common with all Government) yet while it is confess'd to be the best, and strongest; the most oppos'd to confusion, and aptest for Unity, and Peace (to which all Government is designed; and upon which the life of the Community doth immediately depend; and wherein every good man's interest is especially concern'd) we have little reason to look upon them as good Patriots, or good Christians, lovers of Christ, or of their Countrey, who unhinged us from this frame, and invited us into sidings upon pretensions of being better rivited, and united in a popular way.

But then for the *Babel* which is still affixed to this absolute Form, as how highly soever it pretends, yet falling short of its end; and necessarily admitting, it is said, in some cases those very Ataxies, and Confusions, we would labour to prevent. *Est aliquid prodire tenus*. Surely that some cases onely; one, or two possible supposals (as that wherein you instance of the Monarch's being lunatick, or an Idiot) may bring it to this, will cast no dirt, nor blemish at all upon our Building, while it stands firm, and fair, being compar'd with other Edifices. Which not onely these extraordinary, and prodigious events (which like an Earthquake, and general

In-

Inundation of the Sea, may seem to bear down all before them; and against which men in very prudence have not meditated of any fence) but far lesser force, and more ordinary Occurrences (as of a land-floud, or stormy night) levels with the ground.

That some Out-let there is in Monarchy for affairs to run in a Popular, or Parliament chanel, will onely prove it to be of the same piece with our selves, and to suffer *Quid humanum*. There being a mixture perhaps of infirmity, and imperfection in the perfectest good we here enjoy. And therefore to quarrel it off upon this argument, will be with the same breath to renounce all that is sacred. And certainly a most stupendious madness, and partiality, when in lieu and exchange of it, we must take in that which is confessedly worse. A project, and contrivance, that proclaims the Designers *ωτοκατάχρηστοι*, and has no other president in Story than that of *Medea*,

———*Video meliora, probôq;
Deteriora sequor.*———

I see what's better, and approve it so:
Yet eagerly pursue what's worse I know.

Thus far upon your own grounds, and supposing the mischief unavoidable in the case assign'd, viz. That considering the King may be either a Fool, or mad, or otherwise distemper'd, so as to command those things which are absolutely destructive to that Society which he is bound to preserve: there must in that case be some Counsel; or some single Person

to

to govern in his stead, who must also judge when he is in such a condition, and not he himself. And so there must be something still like King, and Parliament to give occasion for the like differences. But that of otherwise destemper'd so as to command things destructive, &c. is a Clause of so much latitude, as cannot be supposed consistent with any Monarchy, much less an absolute one, as we now speak of. For whatever may be said of a mad man, or an Idiot, where the Case is evident, and open to all eyes, as the Sun that shines; and so needs no disquisition, nor can be impos'd upon any that really is not so. Yet the commands, and Policies of a Prince, are not so discernable; but liable to many great mistakes, and misconstructions. And ordinarily so much the more, by how much the better they are. And the deeper his counsels are laid, much less by them who being as much out of kenn, have yet an Interest always bribing them to find fault, and defame his actions, whereby to settle themselves in his Throne, and get the Authority into their own hands.

Success is that onely which makes any counsels, or proceedings good in the popular esteem. What ends unluckily, was begun, say they, unwarrantably. And he that will be content to have the people for his judge, must be sure to have good fortune his Advocate, and Friend, to plead for him. And then for a single person, and supposing in that Case such an One to be appointed the Judge, and to determine upon the actions of his Sovereign, that is still more unreasonable than the former; as whereby we are conjur'd into a Circle. *Nam, Quis custodiet custodem?* What better security have we of this Judge;
than

than we had before of the King? Or why may not he be as ruinous, and destructive to the Kingdom in such his sentence, as the King may be fear'd to be in his designs, and Machinations?

But that which gives a full answer to the Case propounded, is this. That indeed it needs no answer at all; For that it manifestly implies a Contradiction, and so can have no possibility of truth in it. For to be an absolute Monarch; and yet to be liable at the same time to be dethroned by those over whom he is; and wherein he is thus Absolute, does necessarily suppose him, at the same time, and in the same respect, a King, and a Subject: or Absolute, and not Absolute. Which manifestly contradicts its self; and carries its own condemnation along with it. 'Tis true a Governour may be Absolute in some respects barely; and such an One may be call'd a King; but that's abusively onely; and is the same as we understand by a mixt Monarch. But a King, or Monarch, properly taken, or (as in the Case propounded) an Absolute Monarch, must be such an One to be sure who is set free from the power, and penalty of the laws; who ruling by a paternal right over the subjects in his Kingdom, as the sons, and children of his Family, is not accountable, or to be judged by them; whom yet under God he is bound to provide for.

Or suppose him to come in by Compact: Yet to make him Absolute, and a Monarch, he must be free, and absolv'd, if not from the observation, and directive power of the Law, yet from the Coercive, and condemning power of it: if not from pecuniary Mulcts; yet from Capital sentence: or, where-by he is in danger to be depriv'd of that wherein

he is absolute, his Kingship, or Monarchy. For that is the *minimum quod sit* the least part that can possibly be assign'd him of Freedom, and Absolution. And therefore is eminently necessary, not onely to an Absolute, but even to a mixt Monarch. The contrary to this being the very Characteristick of servitude, and subjection.

And therefore now to untye this stubborn knot, which through too much eagerness, and impatience you have thought necessary to break with violence, and sunder with the sword. If the supposed distemper arise to a *Crisis* of Frenzy, and impotency of mind, why then falling in with that of a Fool, or Madman, 'twill be but one, and the same Case manifest, and apparent to alleyes, discernible in all his actions: and then to set up another is not at all to depose him. He is Absolute, and so not to be deposed. But the Frenzy has carried him away first, and removed him from us; and now he is not himself. And therefore as before by his greatness, and Absoluteness; so now by his weakness, and Impotency, he falls not at all within the reach of the Law, to be judged, or punished by it; but is succeeded to by the next heir, as not being; or as to him that is already dead. But if the distemper be of a lower nature, as in your Case you seem to put it, by instancing in this distemper particularly after that of a fool, and madman. Why then his Absoluteness, being premis'd, and presupposed, it must necessarily secure him in his Crown. He is still himself, and so the very man whom the Law invests with Sovereignty, and makes Absolute. Which therefore cannot be pretended to justify any in the Assassinating of his Person, or Usurping his Throne.

K

The

The Law in the case instanced of an Hereditary Kingdom does not necessarily provide to make the wisest, and the best man King : As appears plainly by entailing the Sovereignty on the King's heirs before it is known what they will prove, a Man or a Woman : a Ruffain, or a sober person : and not settling it by election upon one of mature judgment ; approv'd integrity ; and greatest experience. And yet the Law does much the wisest by this Entail. As thereby however running the hazzards of some inconveniences which may happen ; yet avoiding that grand mischief of Factions, and Sidings, and Disunions which are diametrically oppos'd to Government ; and which cannot but fall out in such canvassings, and elections. Those inconveniences, if at any time they happen, are but as maimes, and blemishes in the Government : but this of Schism, and Disunion, is the very death, and destruction of it. Which therefore, as is natural for all Bodies, it especially fortifies against, and labours to prevent.

And from hence then we may see not the Law onely, but the Reason, and Wisdom of the Law in not admitting the resistence pleaded for in this supposed Distemper. For that this distemper not amounting, as was premis'd, to Frenzy, or Idiotism, which is obvious to all ; and whereby a man is no longer a man, or reasonable creature, must become the subject of much dispute, and division ; the occasion for any mutinous, and ambitious party to work upon. And as sometimes it might really prove to be indeed such a distemper ; yet it might oftener, to be sure, be so pretended, when it were not. Which the Law, or Government, therefore
by

by admitting in the least should open a necessary gap to Confusion; and by consequence, to its own destruction. And in prevention of a remote, and onely not impossible danger, which it might fear to receive at some time perhaps from such a distemper'd King (if such a distemper without a downright Bedlam madness be not indeed impossible) give it self a stab to the heart, whereby it must certainly, and immediately expire. And thus the distemper onely, and Feverish indisposition in the King, you would pretend to cure by an Absolute Frenzy and Frantickness in the Government. For so the Poet has already censured it.

Furor est, ne moriari, mori.

For fear of Death to dye
Is Bedlam policy.

The short of it is this. No policy can give an absolute security. We must trust some body. But herein is the Goodness of God, and the Wisdom, and Piety of our Ancestours, in deriving to us such a Form, as brings us nearest to this security; and at farthest distance from danger: as whereby many most probable, and certain inconveniences are avoided. And the onely possible mischief which we can fear from our Governour is so very mischievous, and destructive to the interest of our Governour himself, that we must fear very unreasonably to be afraid of it.

It is in our power to kill our selves; and yet we are not afraid of. our selves, as Mr. Diggs observes. Because there is a natural dearness implanted in us

which secures every one from self wrongs. We have as little cause to be troubled that 'tis in the King's power to make himself no King by destroying his subjects. For so the King perishes in the ruine of his people; and the man onely survives expos'd to the scorn, and hatred, and revenge of mankind. Every man's interest is the greatest assurance we can desire of his Integrity. That will hold to be sure, when all ties, sacred and humane, are laid aside. And having that so apparently for our preservation, it must be our folly, and madness to suspect any such distemper possibly in the King to destroy us. But all this being granted at last, which we plead for, *viz.* That absolute Hereditary Monarchy is of all Forms the best, which you before acknowledge; and that ours by Law established is such, which you no where deny: Yet two objections there are behind, which will still stave us off from our desired Conclusion, if they be not taken out of the way,

S E C T I O N VIII.

The first is from the great hazard and expence it will cost us now to bring things again into their old chanel: whereby the remedy is worse than the disease. And the Well-being which we pursue, and court after, in so doing would prove a pitifull peny-worth (say you) at the price, and forfeiture of our very Beings.

Surely this Objection how gravely, and soberly soever you are pleas'd to set it down, is no other but the murmurs of the fleshly, and beastly part in you (as you afterwards phrase it) and therefore
best

best answer'd with silence, and non-attention, or our Saviour's Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, *Get thee behind me, Satan.* For can it put a *Superfedeas* to our duty; because there is hardship, and difficulty in the performance of it? Must that which is the mark, and cognizance of virtue, Καλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ, *The straitness of the Gate, and narrowness of the way,* be reasonably made use of by Christians as an argument against it? Must that which gives it the Crown be held forth as a check and discouragement to skare us from it? Or are we the first that ever delivered this doctrine; That Oaths, and Covenants must be kept to our own hindrance? True, supposing we were at our own choice, and disposal, nothing but our own personal interest concern'd in it; The Lion in the way might reasonably put us to flight, if we were not as sure (what the Prophet threatens) while we fly from this Lion, to be met with a Bear, even utter spoilings, and devourings; the havock of the Church; and the harrassing our Estates from this mishapen power, in case we should be so tame and cowardly not to oppose it. But when besides the duty to our selves, we have every one of us a sacred Obligation to the King, and his Royal Family; to our Countrey; to our Kindred, and to our Posterity (*Non nobis nati sumus; could the Heathen say, sed partem Patria, partem Amici, partem Parentes vendicant*) we should be strangely impos'd upon to consider any thing of our own danger. Our own particular well-being is very easily reconcilable indeed with the sharpest miseries which our Enemies can inflict. For we have learn'd of *St. Paul*, In Phil. 4. 11. whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content: both

*Quid enim
plano aditur
excelsum?
Senec. ad
Ser. cap. 1.*

both to be full, and to be hungry; to abound, and to suffer need. And therefore though we set no great price upon our lives, and beings: Yet we have no Temptations to expend them in vain; or for the purchase, and procurement of that Well-being which is already in our hands; and cannot with all the powers of men, and Devils, be wrested
 1 Tim. 6. 6. from us. This being, not the godliness of Gain; but the inseparable gain, and advantage of Godliness, whenever it is found that it brings contentment, and Well-being (*αὐτάρκεια* is the Apostle's word, a self sufficiency, and satisfaction) along with it.

But when we see our King, and his Family, expell'd the Kingdom, and expos'd to the Charity of strangers, which yet they are not suffer'd to partake of: but as if the King were too much a King, while he has a Kingdom wherein to beg, this also is envied him, and obstructed by his insolent enemies: What can be a louder, and more importunate cry for our assistance, when we see our Friends, and dearest Relations, every day harass'd, and slaughter'd; and the little remnant that is left in continual tremblings, and suspences between life, and death? Woe be to them that are at ease in *Zion*; that secure themselves in a whole skin: whilst those of the same flock (of the same Countrey, Religion and Relation) lie under the Butchers knife, and are markt out as sheep for the slaughter. Hear what the Wiseman says upon the
 Prov. 24. 11. Case. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn to Death, and them that are ready to be slain: If thou sayst behold we know it not* (or as the vulgar latine reads, *vires non suppetunt*, just as you object,
 in

in this scatter'd, and disarm'd posture, we shall but expose our selves to the sword by such an attempt) doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works? judgment without mercy to him that hath shewed no mercy, and that refused to be his brother's keeper in the day of distress.

And so for our Posterity, and the generations to come: How are we concern'd in duty not to give them up to slavery, and oppression; but to transmit unto them the same happy Government, and freedoms, which were left us by the Wisdom, and Piety of our Fore-fathers? That which our Ancestours did secure unto us with the utmost hazard, and price of their lives against several Insurrections, and Rebellions, in their several Ages, shall we their degenerate Children, bring the curse of all Posterity upon us for betraying, be-reaving them of it?

Surely if Being, and Well-being, had then been laid in the Scales, and minutely consider'd by our Fathers with respect onely to their own particulars, when the Land was infested with Rebels; and the *Danes* had usurped the authority of this Kingdom: The *Danes* had been our masters unto this day. The peoples scatter'd, and disarm'd posture at that time might as well have been pleaded for Non-resistance, as now. Their danger in the attempt was every whit as great; and the burthen they groan'd under not more insupportable, than Ours. But herein they were honourable, and truly worthy; that not unto themselves, but unto us, they were carefull for deliverance. And in considera-
tion

tion of our Well-being, and those of the Generations to succeed after them, easily despis'd their own being, and with their lives in their hands put a sudden period to that treacherous Usurpation.

For so 'tis not our Being, and our Well-being as they are set opposite in the Objection, from whence we should calculate, and take our Elevation in this matter (though perhaps, even thus set, the Being will not greatly over balance, a miserable, or not Well-being, having little in it to weigh, or become desirable with any) but our Being, and the Well-being of the whole Nation, as in that are comprehended not this present Age, and Generation of men onely, but those that are yet in our loins, and to succeed from us,

Et nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis,

even to perpetual Ages. And then it will not seem absurd to you, I presume, or to any sober, and considering person, that the hazards of this present Age should be freely ventur'd for the so great happiness, and advantage of all posterity. And, what we have lost by our sins, that we should endeavour to repair by our virtues. The Parents ought to lay up for the children. And he that provides not for his family; for the peace, and prosperity of his Country; for the happiness, and Well-being of those that derive from him, or are related to him, *ἀποστὰς* *ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in the Apostle's language, *abnegavit fidem*, he has renounc'd the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel, who onely not believed nor own'd it.

1 Tim. 5. 8.

'Twas the profess'd honour, and renown of those Infidel Nations which knew not God, to prefer the

the Community before themselves. And sure our Lord Christ, who gave himself up for us all (and therein infinitely out-did the foremost of those forward Heathens, *Codrus*, *Regulus*, and the rest, at their own weapon) did never design by that gracious example of his to shrink us up to a size, and pittance so much below them, to live onely to our selves; and in care, and tenderness of our Being, to neglect the well-fare, and well-being of all others.

And as to what you add in the Objection concerning those that are engaged, and have already acknowledg'd the present power: That any opposition from them will be to their greater hazards; and themselves the more inexcusable for such double dealing: I answer, these greater hazards, and inexcusableness, being created by their own default, will not at all excuse them therefore in their fears, and unwillingness to venture on them. They are inexcusable indeed for their sin in engaging: but much more inexcusable, if their sin of Engagement be made an incentive to farther sinning. Which has properly nothing of an Engagement in it, but to engage them closer to duty, and to expiate their double dealing (whereby they have added a new Engagement contrary to their old Oaths) with double diligence. For so their great sin in engaging does necessarily call for a great repentance: and a great repentance must necessarily bring forth great fruits; *fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*, fruits meet for such a repentance. That as they were betrayed before by fears, and apprehensions of danger, to this sinfull Engagement: so their *μετάνοια* their after-wisdom, and repentance, will be in utterly subduing this sinfull passion, slighting all fears, and boldly

L

encoun-

encountering what ever hazards, and difficulties can be laid in their ways. Whereby it is come to pass quite contrary to what you fore-saw that these of all others are the fittest instruments for the work. And by so much the more proper, and necessary for the doing of it, by how much they are the more inexcusable with those against whom it is done.

Seneca.

Act. 8. 9.

Though after all, perhaps, this wary discourse of dangers and difficulties, may be found in the end but a mere skare-crow. The Usurpation is not so firmly settled, as not to be removed, but by the Faith of miracles. *Scalpello aperitur ad magnam libertatem via; & puncto constat securitas.* And not being built upon the likeing of the people (which yet at the best gives but a sandy and uncertain foundation, much less can it always hover in the Air. The Devil may keep it a while upon the wing, as he did *Simon Magus*, to the astonishment of all: But upon *Peter's* Prayers the Devil is conjur'd down, and the *Τὸ μέγας* (as *Simon* styles himself) the great one in power falls, and tumbles headlong with him into Hell. Onely there is one farther offer made yet, to hold him up, and secure him in his high flying. And that is from Success, in these words.

S E C T I O N IX.

The Lord having once declared his mind, say you, by a full possession, and seconded it with so many signal providences, we may doe well to cease from fighting against his Prerogative, &c. Where God's hand has been so very manifest in the work, we may not dare to lift up a finger against it.
That

That the hand of God has been very eminent, and remarkable in those severe judgments that have overtaken us, he must be perfectly blind that does not see; and a very formal down-right Atheist that will not acknowledge. And indeed can there be evil in a City, or in a Nation, and the Lord hath not done it? Affliction comes not forth of the dust; neither does trouble spring out of the ground. A sparrow falls not to the ground without your Father; much less doth a whole Nation. Whosoever is the rod, his is the hand that smites us. Which yet cannot be supposed therefore to justify or acquit the instruments, who being Agents likewise, as well as instruments, not merely passive, but active, and operative in the judgments, must be accountable for every such action of theirs in that rank, and relation, wherein God has placed them among mankind. And so what is just and righteous in God to doe, as having a Sovereignty and Lordship over all his creatures, may yet be sinfull, and damnable in men to act against their Equals, and Superiours. What is just, and righteous in God to whom I am guilty, may yet be wicked, and damnable in men before whom I am innocent. *Let every man, says St. Paul, wherein* 1 Cor. 7. 24. *he is called, therein abide with God.* Though I may doe God's work indeed, and serve his End, and the interests of his Church; as whatever we doe, we cannot doe otherwise, his infinite wisdom disposing, and improving our worst actions to those ends, (even the crucifixion of Christ to his greater glory, and the Salvation of mankind) yet we abide not, we work not with God in any action how fair, and specious soever, that carries us out of our

L 2

calling,

calling; or disturbs that subjection, and subordination, wherein God has placed us.

And sure for the success which follows upon such actions, that being *ex post facto*, can never be our Commission for the doing of them. No nor secondly any mark, or Testimony of God's approbation to them when done. First, because it is common, and indifferent to all actions good, and evil; according to that of Solomon. *No man knows either Love, or Hatred, by all that is before him. All things come alike to all. There is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked; and therefore no judgment to be made from thence. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, says St. Paul, who shall prepare himself for the battel?* How shall we call that the voice of God, or what can we rely upon in an uncertain insignificant sound? But then; Secondly, the alteration of God's Oeconomy since the days of Solomon, now that a greater than Solomon is here, does yet farther weaken the argument from success; as much more enclining the contrary way. And being lookt upon through the glass of the Gospel, it does rather prejudice, and condemn that cause on whose side it stands. *Lo these are the ungodly; these prosper in the world; and these have riches in possession. Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivest thy good things.* While in the mean time sufferings, and afflictions, are measured out for the lot of the righteous. *In the world ye shall have tribulation, says our Saviour. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, says St. Paul, shall suffer persecution.* And then mark what follows in the next words. *But evil men, and seducers shall wax worse, and worse; deceiving, and being*

being deceived. The godly shall be persecuted by the wicked, and so made better; but evil men, and seducers shall wax worse, and worse; namely for want of persecution. For so the Context and Coherence of the words does plainly expound it. Being deceived themselves, and deceiving others; by reason of the low estate of the Godly, and their own great power above them, and prosperity against them. Sutable to that saying of *Solomon*: *The prosperity of Fools shall destroy them.*

And indeed success is a bait so proportion'd, and well relishing to our palate, that the Saints of God *Job, David, Jeremy,* and the rest, have been in danger to be snared by it. If 'it were possible it would seduce the very Elect. And therefore no marvel if the men of the world find some savour, and lay so much weight upon it. Thus in the *Turkish* divinity, *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur.* We reade of *Selimus* justified, and approved by them for deposing and destroying his Father. *Nam rerum exitus satis docuit,* saith the Historian, *illum, quod fecit, divino fecisse instinctu, & cælitus fuisse prædestinatum.* The prosperous event did sufficiently declare him to be predestinated, and set on by God. While in the mean time unfortunate *Bajazet*, who took up arms to defend his life against his brother, is bitterly execrated, and accursed by them, merely upon this account; because he was unfortunate, and thrived not in the attempt. And surely the Providence of God in this *Turkish* doctrine, and those great, and flourishing Empires, which the worshippers of *Mahomet* have attained unto from very mean, and inconsiderable beginnings, did design, as by a standing grand Exemplar superadded

to.

to this word, to take off Christians from gazing after success, or applauding themselves at any time in faction, or division among themselves, by this argument which must plead for the common enemy of Christendom, and if thoroughly received and relyed upon, advance *Mahomet* above Christ. And just it is that those who still take pleasure in unrighteousness (*qui Turcam gerunt in pectore*, as *Erasmus's* phrase is) should be condemn'd to a *Turks* paradise, even a strong delusion, ἐνέγκεται πλάνη, to be brought upon them by God, as the ² Thes. 2. **Apostle** foretells, ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, in strange successes, and great power. While they consider not what is excellently hinted to them by his late Majesty, That the wind which fills the *Pyrat's* sails, where there is nothing at all of man in it, but immediately the hand of Heaven, and so lays a fairest plea to Providence, than any the successes, and Atchievements they so much boast of, does not at all justify his piracy, or approve his rapine, though it bring him safe with his ill gotten goods into the Harbour. I shall dismiss this point fully, when I have translated the Heathen Poet's wish into a Christian Prayer.

——— *Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.*

Lord, with ill luck vouchsafe that man to bless
Who judges actions merely by success.

But in all this arguing against Success, and that false bottom which is pretended by you for the establishing of a right, We may not be thought to fight

fight against God's Prerogative; or deny him the Power of disposing the Kingdoms of men to whom he pleases, without being asked what he does, though he should give them to the basest of Men. For while we deny this of Success, and signal Providences, as you style them, to be God's way (such a way (that is to say) as must be supposed to make up for all other defects, and irregularities, and incapacities whatsoever) we do not at all doubt but God has his way for the bringing about what seems good in his eyes. Even the basest, and meanest wretch upon the Earth, may by the Power of God be advanced to a Kingdom, and dignified with Dominion. And in all this we ask not God what he doeth, or why he does so: but rest satisfied, and rejoice, in as much as he is the doer of it. The onely Quere is, How he does it? And that certainly since all ways are equally open, and easie to him, we may not believe he does by ways and means which his Soul hates. *O house of Israel are not my ways equal, are not your ways unequal?* The unequal ways, and actions, are our own, which the more they grow, and thrive, whatever providences they may pretend to, they are still but the more unequal, and at farthest distance from God's ways. The Devil indeed may by these wicked, and unequal ways give us the possession of a Crown, and Kingdom (for, all these are mine, saith the Devil truly in a limited sense, and to whomsoever I will, I give them) but to shew that power is quite another thing; it is wholly reserv'd in another hand. *There is no power but of God.* And so it does not necessarily go along with possession; unless we should think that God is but the Devil's Minister; bound to approve;

Luk. 4. 6.

approve, and authorize what the Devil does.

And then what means the law of Restitution? And how pitifully did *Zacheus* overshoot himself in the Gospel by restoring four-fold what he had taken by false accusation? If possession be indeed a good Tenure; be-like his crime was that he had not taken enough: if to his false accusation he had but added rebellion, and execution: if while he was nibbling at pence he had but exacted pounds: and while he was pilfering the Commons Coffers, he had but plundred *Cæsar* of his Crown, *Euge bone serve!* well done good, and faithfull servant! have thou authority over ten Cities. Instead of his four-fold Restitution, he had been highly applauded, and immediately authorized by God in the dominion of it.

It has been an old complaint against the corruption of humane laws, that they were as Spiders webbs, where the little Flies are hamper'd, and taken, but the great one breaks through and escape. And this onely in relation to persons, the common, and ordinary sort of people compar'd with those of greater quality and estate, though both guilty of the same offence. But how much a fouler corruption is it that is here charged on the Laws of God? O what a Spiders webb do these poisonous tongues make of it! Not the accepting of persons indeed, the rich any more than the poor; but which is much more horrid, and blasphemous, the accepting of sinners, the great sinners before the little. And while little sinners, petty robbers are taken, and damn'd; the great Thieves, and Murtherers, not escape onely, but are highly honoured, and rewarded by him. And having out sinn'd the punishment
of

of humane laws, which lesser villanies fall under, they have thereby escaped the vengeance of God: and as by a probation exercise (I tremble to write it) have approv'd themselves for the bearing of his image, and being in his stead among men.

SECTION X.

And to make all this good, we are remitted in the last place to the fourth of *Daniel*. Where upon serious perusal something may be found hinted, you think, that may be for our satisfaction in this point.

Truely though the Method being so very improper to seek for that in the dark which we cannot find in the clear light: and being condemned in the New Testament as in open Court; still to traverse the suit, and hope to be acquitted in the obscure Prophets: I am utterly hopeless that a serious perusal will be to purpose in this matter. Yet seeing this place of *Daniel* is your last refuge; and though beaten out of the field, you will still talk of a reserve behind the hedges (as the poor dispersed Jews bragg of a great flourishing Empire they have at this day in some remote Country) I will seriously peruse, and as faithfully set down, all that may sound this way in that fourth Chapter. Which is no more than has been already considered by us: *That the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the Basest of men.* vers. 17. *And the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men; and giveth it to whomsoever he will,* vers. 25. And so again in the same words, vers. 32. *And none can stay*
M bis

his hand; or say unto him, What doest thou? v. 35. And all this exemplified there in *Nebuchadnezzar*, who for his proud ignorance was humbled by God into a very Beast; and from reigning on the Throne driven to eat grass with the Oxen; and to be wet with the dew of Heaven; till after a time his Reason, and humane soul again returning, he was restored again to his Kingdom; *and excellent Majesty was added unto him. v. 36.*

Now what is there in all this which without manifest wresting can possibly bear that horrid, and hellish superstructure which is laid upon it? Nay so far is it from a hint this way, as indeed it affords a full heap of proof to the contrary. For if God give the Kingdom to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men, and in all this no man may say unto him, what doest thou? Then none certainly may pretend authority to question, or depose, or murder him that is thus set up by God, though he should be the basest of men, and they could bring a charge against him of Tyranny, and misgovernment twenty years. 'Tis a right this onely reserved in the hands of God. *He ruleth in the Kingdoms of men.* And therefore to shew his Power, and exemplify his way of deposing Kings in *Nebuchadnezzar*, and disposing of Kingdoms, he does not (for all *Nebuchadnezzar's* baseness, though the basest of men) arm his subjects against him, while he continued to be their King (this is none of God's way) but he first takes away his capacity to govern by turning him into a beast: And then they who were formerly his subjects while he was himself; upon this great, and evident change cease to be so; and accordingly drive

drive him from among men. Which is exactly parallel to what we said before in the Case of Idiotism, and down-right madness: whereby the King degenerates, and ceases to be a reasonable creature. He can be no longer a King that is not a man. God, who onely could, by taking away his reason hath depos'd him from his royalty. God hath depos'd him, and not man. And to shew that this is it alone which did unking him, *viz.* The same that did plainly, and evidently unman him: *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner returns to be a man, but his Kingdom returns unto him again. All his former failings, and miscarriages; all the *Inter regnum*, and seven years possession of the Kingdom in other hands, does not prejudice his title, or prevent him of his Crown. From the basest of men, nay from a very beast he is again become *Βάσις τῆ λαῶ*, as the Etymologist derives the word, the *basis*, and foundation, and support of the people. The baseness of man is no obstruction against the dignity, and dominion of God. *Thus shall it be done to the man whom God delighteth to honour.* All his baseness is immediately covered, and swallowed up in that excellency, and Majesty put upon him by God.

But this makes nothing for the baseness of the means whereby God is by you suppos'd to doe this. We make no peradventure at all but that this present Usurper, though base enough in his first extract, and original; being one of the *οἱ πολλοί* the lowest of the lower house men; and who has made himself much baser by his daring, and dissembld villany, whereby he is become without a rival the basest of men; and at least the image

of *Nebuchadnezzar's* beast, may yet be dignified by God with Sovereignty, and Dominion. *Is any thing too hard for the Lord?* Has he not ways, and means enough to entitle him to it, if it seemed good in his eyes, either by a voice from Heaven; and setting the people at liberty from their former Allegiance; and then disposing their suffrage on him: or by bringing him into allyance with the Royal Family, or the like? Onely we say (and sure against that there can be no pretence made from the fourth of *Daniel*) that the price of blood is not to be cast into the Treasury of the Lord. Rebellion, Murder, and the like, are not to be put upon his account, or to be imagin'd as God's way for the authorizing, and empowering any person. *Hast thou kill'd, and also taken possession?* was yet far enough from entitling *Ahab* to *Naboth's* Vineyard. And, sure would have been of as little force, if *Naboth* had contriv'd the sentence, and usurp'd upon King *Ahab*.

God's Providence was indeed very visible, and remarkable, *etiam Deo digna*, in settling the Government of this Land upon the Family of the STEUARTS by taking away one King, and two Queens successively by his own hand without children; *Edward* the sixth, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, the onely posterity of *Henry* the eighth; without the contrivance, and beyond the thought, and expectation of Men. And yet farther; He brought our late King to the Throne, which he was never born to, by taking away his elder Brother in the hopes, and strength, and prime of his years. And was not his Providence as visible upon this, when in the rout, and overthrow of his Army at *Worcester*,

cester, He, who was the onely man aim'd at, was the onely man well nigh that escaped? *This was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes.* Whereas now for the outing, and rejecting of them, dispossessing, and discarding of the Royal Family, so much owned by God by so many steps, and gradations; with so many arts, and methods provided for by him, what do we meet withall but the wickedness, and impiety of men? and that indeed as visible, and eminent, as God's Providence was before for the advancement of them. God raised them to the Throne as it were without man immediately by himself, and man has pull'd them down without God: So plainly, and manifestly without God, that no pretence is laid to God's work in the matter; but that which is the most opposite, and contrary to it, which does really profess God at the greatest distance, and abhorrence from it, Your thriving, and prospering in your sin. *Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death.* And sure God is never so expressly angry, and offended at us; never removed so far from us; never leaves us so wholly to our selves, as when he suffers us to complete our wicked purposes.

SECTION XI.

And thus, Sir, having run through your whole Letter, and duly consider'd every part of it that could be any where improv'd into an Objection, I should think it a fit season to take my leave. But when I look back, and find this Reply swelled to such a monstrous bulk beyond the pittance, and proportion of an Epistle, which is all I designed:

I have

Rom. 13.

I have no way to bring my self into shape now, but by stretching it wider; and so set up for a little Volume. Which gives me scope therefore (holding my self still to the subject matter before me) to review again the title of Possession as it stands pleaded by Mr. *Ascham*, and so downwards from that Text of St. Paul, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Here the great Emphasis is laid upon the Powers that be. Which *eo Nomine* in that they be, however they come so to be, are acknowledg'd by the Apostle, say they, to be ordain'd by God; and then under pain of Damnation not to be oppos'd, or resisted by us.

Si violandum est jus, regni causâ violandum est, Thus much the Heathens, who knew not God, were contented sometimes to bid for a Kingdom, even the price, and forfeiture of common Justice. But these saints are the first men, I believe, that ever profess'd such love to a Crown, as to bragg of the bargain, and think it a huge penyworth at the loss, and utter damnation of their Souls. For so they expressly do, while they strive, and plead for it on this Tenure. For there was a time we know within the memory of man, when the Government was held in other hands. To whom certainly that title was then as justly applicable *Αἱ βουαὶ ἐξουσίαι*, *The powers that be.* And being so, *ex ore proprio*, their own argument, and their own mouth does plainly urge damnation upon them for rising up, and resisting of those Powers then in being. *They that*

that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. The application is so easie, and obvious, as I cannot believe them so very blind, as not to see it. Onely they are so eagerly bent to secure themselves in the Throne for the present, as in order to that they can willingly bind themselves to Damnation for ever after. And that is indeed such a vast price, and so round a payment, as God may afford them (and we shall have little reason to grudge that he should afford them) all the peace, and pleasurable enjoyments of their lusts, and ambitions in this world; the spoils and treasure of a poor Church; the sway, and Government of one small Island. Alas! that inflamed reckoning which will be put upon them at last in Hell torments, might seem hugely unreasonable, and disproportion'd, if they had not this bill of Fare going before: *Son, Remember that thou in thy life time receiv'dst thy good things.*

But the Text, will they say, remains still untouched. *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum.* The Argument is good, and proves what we bring it for, though we perhaps should be damn'd by it. To that therefore (when I have first premis'd what is already suppos'd in the Objection, and which Mr. *Ascham* expressly grants: Or if he did not is apparently proved by Mr. *Diggs* in his Casual Paraphrase; and yet more largely, and most convincingly, by Dr. *Hammond* in his Annotations on the place. That by Powers here (*The powers that be*) are meant not merely Power, and Authority abstracted from Persons; but Persons clothed with that Authority) I now make Reply by distinguishing between *Εξουσία* and *Δύναμις*, *Potestas*

& *Vu*; Power and Force; Authority and Usurpation. And the Apostle's inference, and argument being wholly founded upon the former *Εξουσία*, *Potestas*, Powers and Magistrates; is so far from being applicable; that it is down-right contrary, and destructive unto *Δυναμεις*, Tyrants and Usurpers. For so the Apostle proceeds. *Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers* (*ὑποταχέσθαι ἐξουσίαις*) *For there is no power* (*οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία*) *but of God. The powers that be* (*αἱ δὲ ὄντι ἐξουσίαι*) *are ordained of God.* And then follows his inference, or conclusion. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power* (*ὅστις ὁ ἀντιτάσσεται τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*) *resisteth the ordinance of God, &c.*

That the Apostle herein restrains himself wholly to *ἐξουσία* is evident by the words thus truly, and orderly set down. And that *ἐξουσία* is used by him in its proper limited signification for lawfull Power, and Authority with exclusion to Intruders, and Usurpers, will as easily appear from the adjuncts, and attributes he ascribes to it, and from the inference, and deduction he draws from it. From the Adjuncts, and Attributes, That it is of God: and farther (*ἐκ θεοῦ εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ θεοῦ*) tis not but of God. Not of God barely, and at large, as all things generally may be said to be: but so wholly and immediately of God, as of no other whatsoever in the least. Which certainly cannot be understood of all powers in the general. For then we must arraign God of all the Robberies, and Violences, and Oppressions that were committed in the world. And the Magistrate cannot pretend to punish a Thief, or an Oppressour, for that he is a power, as to what he has thus got into his power,

of

of the same Divine original, and establishment with himself: And so acts as lawfully, and authoritatively in his sphere, as the Magistrate can be supposed upon that ground to act in his. *Magna regna magna Latrocinia.* And I am equally bound to deliver up my purse upon the demand of the Thief having a power over me; as to pay a Tax, or Tribute, upon the command of the Magistrate. They are both authorized by God. *For there is no power but of God.* Nay the Devil himself will come in for a large share. And if Possession be that which makes a Power, he will be found to be the *Ἐξουία κατεστημένη*, The supreme Power set up, and establish'd by God; and so ruling lawfully, and *Jure divino* in the children of disobedience, who would become much more the children of disobedience, if they should resist him, and thereby become lyable to greater Damnation. *They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Ephes. 2. 2.

And therefore the Apostle, that he might not lie open to this devilish misconstruction, gives us in the next place the limitation of Powers. *Αἱ δὲ ἔξουαι ἔξουαι*, Not the Powers that be, as we translate it: But *Quæ autem sunt Potestates*, as the vulgar Latine: Or, *Et quæ sunt Potestates*, as Beza renders it; and those which be Powers: Those who are intended by that Name, who we say are from God onely, and to whom that title and honour does properly belong of *ἔξουαι*, Powers. However in other respects they be Heathens, and Idolaters, and so very disorderly, and contrary to God, as the Roman *Cæsars* of whom he spoke: Yet *ἔξουαι ἔξουαι*, their being Powers: or as to Magistracy, and Power, *καὶ οὗτοι ὡς παραγγέλλει εἰς αὐτοὺς*, they are ordered, and ordained

N

dained

dained by God, placed regularly ; that is to say, in that rank, and order of superiority by God himself. Than which nothing can be more opposite to, and exclusive of those counterfeit powers ; who in opinion of their saintship, and orderly subjection to God in other matters, have assum'd to themselves a Sovreignty ; made themselves Judges, and Dividers over us without any Commission, and against the plain Order, and Ordination of God among us. This being such a *Unicum necessarium* in the Case ; that as to be right, and regular in this matter, to have God's Ordination to it, does so fully impower any person, that no impieties, or miscarriages of his own ; no misfortunes, nor misadventures that can befall him from others can devest him of it *ὁ δὲ τὸ Θεὸς παραμένει*. Take him at the worst, and lowest, he is still a Sovreign Power, and has thereby a just Propriety in the *Regalia*, in all those Honours, and Privileges, which God, and Man, have any where affixed to the Higher Powers. Whereas on the otherside if one miscarry in this point, and get into the Throne disorderly ; All the Piety, Prosperity, and Possessions which Men and Angels can pretend to, will nothing avail towards the making him a Power, or salve up the defect of God's Ordination. They may set him up indeed in high places, and flatter him with names, and titles, and honours, but all is disown'd, and rejected by God ; because not conferr'd by his Order. *They have set up Kings*, says He, *but not by me : they have made Princes but I knew it not.* And then it follows aptly in the next words ; *Of their Silver, and their Gold have they made themselves Idols.* An Idol-king on the Throne, and an Idol-

Hof. 8. 4.

Idol-god in the Temple. An Idol-king that can neither doe good, nor evil, that has no just power for the punishment of evil doers, or for the praise of them that doe well. Because set up but not by me: because made a Prince without my knowledge in a way which I never authoriz'd, nor approv'd. *But the Lord knoweth the way of the Righteous.* Αἱ δὲ ἰσται ἐξουσίαι, Those which are rightly Powers, whatever else they miss, and fail in, are certainly regular in this, That they are ordered, and ordained by God.

And as the Apostle has fully explicated, and explained the meaning of this Phrase: When he derives the Power from God onely, and beaten back all those shameless, impudent Pretenders, who would nestle themselves under the generality of those Terms, by farther adding, That this Power is ordained of God. To be a Power from God is not to make our selves so; or be authorized by any other, Officers, or Army: but to be ordained of God. Yet because these restless contenders will *nodum in Scirpo quærere*; and catch hold on any Bulrush to save themselves from drowning; or rather indeed from discerning the Truth, and being saved. To be ordain'd of God, here say they, and to be *The Ordinance of God.* v. 2. is nothing else but, To be decreed, and ordained of God from all Eternity to such a power; and to be invested with it in time by virtue of this Ordinance, or Decree. Which title we justly challenge, say they, being now actually possessed of it: which certainly we could not be either without, or against God's Decree.

Not to plunge my self into the vast Ocean of God's secret Counsels, and Decrees, whose Name

being secret we are thereby forbidden to enquire after. *Cum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam?* This Tree of knowledge is certainly the forbidden fruit. And in the search whereof it is much easier to loose our eyes, than find an issue; as being the most immense, and inscrutable treasury of an infinite, and incomprehensible Wisdom. Yet thus much we may venture to assert, That either all things which befall here on Earth, however foreseen and foreknown by God are not all of them so necessarily constrain'd by any degree of God's to fall out as they do, but that some of them (at least as to any such Decree) might fall out otherwise than they do: Or else that it is lawfull, nay pious, and necessary in us to oppose some events which God has decreed. The reason of the consequence is plainly this: Because we are commanded to oppose the being of some things which yet actually are, and continue to be. Whereupon it follows that either they are without a Decree according to my first Proposition: Or else, that we are bound to resist some things which God has decreed, as was said in the Second. Either of these Propositions being granted (as one of them must, for that both cannot be false) it will follow that either your possessing of the Place is no sure Evidence of God's decree: or supposing it to be so, yet that you are not thereby secured from Opposition, and Resistance: Nay, that our duty, and piety to God may urge us perhaps notwithstanding to root you out. Thus Diseases, and Invasions, though both from God, and according to your Tenet from God's Decree, are yet to be repuls'd by Force, and Physick. And who knows whether the
Decree

Decree to remove you again be not as fix'd, and pressing as that whereby at present you stand possessed. *Be not high minded, but fear.*

But to take away all seeming force of this Objection: To be ordain'd by God, and the ordinance of God cannot be here understood barely of his Decree. For the words are *ταχυνέναι* and *διατάζει*; which an easie *Græcian* must needs know derive themselves from *τάττω* or *τάσσω* (*Non mandato aliquid instituo*

says *Beza* on the words, not to command, or decree, but) *ordino*, or *in ordinem dispono* to place, or to dispose in Order. Thus the *Centurion* in the Gospel is *ὁ ἐξουίας ταχυνέναι* plac'd or rank'd under Authority. Thus *τάξις* signifies Order, and *ἄταξία* disorder, and confusion. And thus *διατάζει* must not signifie an Ordinance as that is taken *Usu forensi* for a Statute, or Decree, but properly Ordination (and accordingly the Latine translations both *Beza's*, and *Vulgar*, have *Ordinatae sunt*; and *Ordinationi*) as that word is used in the Ecclesiastical acception for the placing, or admitting of a Person by some formality, or other, into such, or such an Order. So that ordained by God here, is to have ordination; and is the same with what the Apostle terms in another place, called of God.

No man takes this honour to himself, but he that is called of God. Where called of God we see is manifestly opposed to taking it of himself; and so cannot be the same thing. And how then can we ground, or imagine God's Decree, or Call, or Ordination, upon this argument, which is of all other the most evident bar against it. No man is so clearly, and evidently not the rightfull Power,

as he that takes it unto himself, and pleads, and chal-

Heb. 5. 4.

chal-

challenges it upon that Title. Inasmuch as standing still, or not acting, is more competible, or less contrary to God's Call, and Ordination, than running on Ones own head. For some men have been call'd, or sent, or ordain'd by God, which have delayed to go, and act. But no man that took it to himself, that run upon his own head, was ever call'd, or impower'd by him. Οἱ λαβόντες τὴν μάχαιραν., They that take the sword are adjudged already by our Saviour to perish by the Sword. Not onely to bear it in vain (which is enough to take them off from being a rightfull Power. *For he beareth not the sword in vain*) but to bear it manifestly against themselves, and to become their own Executioners by it. Which they can onely fence by plainly denying our Saviour, and St. Paul. That whereas they speak of taking the Sword, and taking honour *ἐαυτοῖς* to Ones self in opposition to God's call: it is utterly groundless, must these men say; there cannot possibly be any such thing. The having of honour is a certain evidence of being call'd by God. And possessing of the Sword does manifestly entitle one to the power of it. And therefore leaving them a while to try it out with God, and his Word, I must be allow'd upon this Authority to suppose their Possession turn'd out of doors. And then the onely task remaining for me is to find out something to fill up the place, that may be an evident mark of God's Ordination, whereby this Power is convey'd to a Person, and how we shall know it.

God's Lordship, and Sovereignty over us does originally arise from the right of a Creatour. In that he is the cause, and authour of our being, he must

must necessarily have an absolute dominion over us, who are produced, and created by him. *It is he that hath made us, and not we our selves*, says the Psalmist. And then it follows regularly in the next words, *We are his people, &c.* And as he was pleas'd not to produce all men, as he did *Adam*, solely and immediately by Himself, though he had the residue of the Spirit, as the Prophet speaks : but to take in man as a *Συμμεγής*, and Copartner with him in the production of the rest, deriving them by Generation one from another. He has hereby admitted man likewise into a partnership of his Sovereignty : made him naturally a Sovereign over those who receive their being, and production from him. And thus Parents are petty gods in relation to their children. And children have the obligation of creatures upon them in respect unto their Parents. And this not onely to their next, and immediate parents who beget them ; but upon the same Tenure (for *Causa causæ est causa causati*) to their Parent's Parents, *Avus*, *Proavus*, *Tritavus*, Grandfather, Great-grandfather, and so upwards. Every one in the whole Category, and Succession of them being a *Subalternum genus* : That is to say, a Power in respect of those under them ; but a Species, and Subject still in respect of the *Summum Genus*, the Supreme Parent from whom they flow, and by whom they are sent. And thus a Family becomes a Kingdom : and the King, or *Pater patriæ* Father of the Countrey, is the very *Paterfamilias* Master of the Family. And as *Noah*, if he were still alive, would certainly be *Rex Catholicus* not in Title onely, but in Truth, the Catholick, or Universal Monarch of the whole World ; as being the Father

of

of all the Families, and Kingdoms now in being. So this Universal Monarchy must necessarily expire upon his death, and become divided, as it was between his three Sons *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*. None of them being a Father, and therefore not a King over the other: but every one a Father, and absolute in his own Family. *Shem* the elder brother being still but a Brother; and so though he had many privileges, and priorities, even a double portion above the rest, as due by his Birthright. Yet not necessarily, or by the law of Nature to succeed into a paternal power over his brethren, no more than he could be a natural Father to them.

And as here began the distinction of Kings, and Kingdoms in these three Brethren, and their Families: So they all multiplying into many Sons; and those Sons into many more, who were all after their Fathers deaths, as their Fathers before them had been, absolute, and Independent Monarchs over their respective children. Every Family being still a several Kingdom, it must needs be that in process of time among so many Kings, and Kingdoms all absolute, and independent from one another; there could not but fall matter of continual, and endless Controversie. Every lesser Family oppress'd by the greater. Every difference with a Neighbour being onely determinable by the sword, and to be managed by a bloody war. For the avoiding of which great inconvenience manifestly arising from the multiplicity of Kings, and Kingdoms; we must suppose, That either admonish'd by God, or prompted by right Reason, these several Fathers of Families, so many of them as were adjoyn'd by any nearness of place, and Kindred meeting together

ther in one body, and others in another, and so of the rest, did give up this their absolute power, which they had severally before over their own Families, into the hands of some one person, incorporating themselves, and their Families into his Family; adopting themselves his children; and by uniting their several paternal powers in him alone, did thereby make, and acknowledge him the common Father of them all. And that not personally onely, or with limitation to his particular self, (For then at his death they must have return'd to the same inconveniences as before. Which by the greater increase of Families would then become much greater: and which therefore they were concern'd the rather, and with greater diligence to prevent) but to his Heirs after him. So making his Family to be a Family of Fathers in their several generations to them, and their Families for ever.

And that this is indeed the true original of Kings, and Monarchs, all particular paternal powers being really transferr'd, and united in them, is very evident, as Mr. Diggs observes. Because else we should be bound to obey our Fathers commands before those of the Kings. For divine precept stands in full force, *Honour thy Father, &c.* Which being, as St. Paul says, *the first commandment with promise*, and the first in the second Table, does certainly in its own weight, and obligation (and so ought to do in our value, and observance) out-strip all other after Commandments of the same Nature with it, or relating to Man. And were not therefore to be set lower in the least by honour-

nouring, and obeying the King before our Father; if it were not certain that the King is more our Father, than our Father that does beget us. *Tam pater nemo est in terris*. No man is so much our Father, as the King. And to whom therefore the honour enjoy'd us towards our Father does most eminently, and in the first place, upon that very account, belong.

But if this derivation of Kingly Power should not become perhaps so plain, and intelligible to ordinary apprehensions, as too far removed out of their sight: I shall endeavour in a new draught to bring it nearer; and by clear, and evident instances, to facilitate the understanding of it.

God doth empower a Person, or call, and ordain him to power by two manner of ways. Either mediately, or immediately. Immediately, and by himself, so he called *Aaron* to the Priesthood; *Saul*, and after him *David* to the Kingdom: mediately, or by right from these, as *Eleazar*, and his Sons after him succeeded to *Aaron*: So *Solomon*, and his Sons after him succeeded *David* in the Kingdom. Though all these may be rather said to be immediately call'd by God, in as much as in the first investiture, and conferring authority on *Aaron*, and *David*, the promise, and so the Power was made to them, and their seeds for ever. Which yet while it was immediately done by God, was never so immediately done by him, as not to take in the Ministry of men for the doing of it; even some known authentick Prophet to convey this message, to call, and consecrate the person to this authority. Thus *Moses* by God's appointment settles the Priesthood upon

upon *Aaron*: and *Samuel* the Kingdom upon *David*. And whoever will derive from this claim, even this immediate call from God, must not pretend I know not what Revelations from Heaven between God and his own Soul; the secret whisperings of a private spirit to empower him in it. For besides that a man's own ambition will easily whisper, and prompt him to such motions; God's own secret and immediate way is not so very secret, and immediate. And upon this reason; because Power, and authority being a relative to obedience; the Power of the King to the obedience of the people, if it were thus privately, and secretly conveyed to him onely whose interest, and advantage it is to pretend it; how could this draw after it the subjection, and obedience of the people, unless we should resolve quite contrary to *David's*, *Omnis homo mendax*, All men are liars; that every man speaks right, and truth in his own cause. Which principle as soon as ever it could be taken up must necessarily be proved false by so many pretenders as would arise under the favour of it one against another. And therefore the revelation in this case must be to the People as well as to the Prince: or, as God has better design'd it, to a Prophet known, and acknowledged by all. Otherwise if God should secretly call him to be the Prince, or Protector; yet where has the People by this any call, or warrant to be his subjects? If he have a revelation to be our Sovereign: yet we have no revelation to be his subjects. And how is he a Prince then that has no People? Let the Prince therefore that pretends this tenure produce his Prophet: and the Prophet produce

his Commission. Which if he can confirm with no better miracle than that lying wonder of success, and causing Fire to come down from Heaven; killing, and slaying as many as will not receive him: he proves himself but a false Prophet by all this. As appears, *Rev. 13. 13.* And he, and the Beast which he worships, the *Ψευδοβασιλεὺς, and the Ψευδοπροφήτης* shall both be cast alive, says God, into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

Rev. 19. 20.

But indeed, whatsoever is said, this immediate way, and call, could onely be expected when God was pleas'd to govern immediately by a voice, and revelation from Heaven, as among the *Jews*. But for the generality of mankind, and the rest of the world, he has left them, as the Wise man tells us, *in the hands of their own counsels.* *Christ's Kingdom is not of this world.* Nor has he ever been known from the first day of his Incarnation to call, or consecrate any man to Power, and Dominion, merely Secular, by any of his Apostles, or Prophets in an extraordinary way. All that he does peculiarly in this matter is by giving laws to hold us fast to duty, and Allegiance; confirm, and ratify the Covenants we have made, and the Oaths we have taken: empower the Person whom the Law has appointed for our Prince; over-rule all the actions, and counsels both of Prince, and People, as seems best to his divine Wisdom, and for the good of his Church. And lastly, when he pleases to alter the Government not by permission barely, which wicked, and unreasonable men may extort from him, but by his own act, and approbation he so disposes, and orders affairs, and Persons, that by the laws, and rights

rights among men it is transferred to another. *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law; I am not come to destroy but to fulfill.* This though spoken by our Saviour in relation to the *Mosaical* law, is verified likewise of him in relation to the law of Nature, and of Nations, and the Municipal laws of every particular Kingdom, so far as they are not repugnant to that Supreme Law of his laid down in the Holy Scripture. *He comes not to destroy but to fulfill them;* not to supersede, or evacuate them; but to hold us the faster, and the closer to them; to make us the more dutifull, and observant to them in our several places, and relations, whether of Nature, Nations, or those of our own Land.

And this the Apostle has plainly intimated. When as a motive of all chearfull ready obedience of wives to their Husbands; of children to their Parents; of servants to their Masters; and so of subjects to their Sovereigns, he tell us, that in obeying them, we obey not men but God, even the Lord Christ. Whereby it appears that their laws are not their laws, but Christ's. And that he dictates to us by their mouths, this being that which, as it preserves peace, and a decent Subordination among men, does admirably set forth the Excellency of Christ's Oeconomy, and Government of the world, with such a power of Wisdom (as becomes him that is the Wisdom of the Father) as without making use of the strength of his arm, or doing every thing by mere force, he does yet effect, and bring to pass what alterations he pleases in the world by his wonderfull, and wise disposing the

Col. 3. 24.

Wif. 8. 1.

the counfels and affairs of men to his defigned iffue. *Attingit à fine ufq; ad finem fortiter*, fays the Wife-man, & *disponit omnia fuaviter*. *Wifedom reacheth from one end to another mightily; and sweetly does ſhe order all things.* *Fortiter & fuaviter* mightily and sweetly.

And therefore ſuppoſing onely Paternal power, or the authority of Parents over their children immediately from God; and wherein the child to be under obedience was never aſkt his I or No, to aſſent, or differ: The mediate, or more remote way I ſhall grant to be in our own choice, and Election. Which yet after we have determined, and bound our ſelves; boared our ſelves as it were through the Ear, by entring into Oaths, and promiſe of Obedience (thoſe two ἀμετάδετα πράγματα, *Heb. 6.*) we are then as faſt, and as irreverſibly bound, for ſo long as we have bound our ſelves, as if we were bound immediately by God; and a voice from Heaven. And as it was with the ſervant boared through the Ear, there is no Jubilee to ſet us free.

Conſider the caſe of *Ananias's* ſacrilege, *Acts 5.* The ſame ſin as *Achan's*, *Joſh. 7.* And both puniſhed with death, though *Achan's* was in ſtealing part of that which God had immediately and by himſelf conſecrated to himſelf, *The wedge of Gold, and the Babiloniſh garment*: *Ananias's* in detaining part of that which he himſelf of himſelf had dedicated to God's ſervice. Which to ſhew it was by this promiſe, and conſecration of his, as holy now, and irrevocable as if God had immediately conſecrated it himſelf; *St. Peter* tells him Οὐκ ἐνέμωv ἀνδρῶν τοις,

ποις, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *Thou hast not lyed unto, or cheated men, but God.* So to whom we give our lawfull promise of subjection, and obedience, thereby discriminating that Person from the rest of the lump, setting him up in a peculiar reference to God Almighty to whom all our obedience, and subjection is especially due, which is the proper notion of Consecration; He is then as truly sacred, and to be used *cum discrimine* with respect, and reverence by us, as if God had plac'd him by name in this authority over us. Whilst it remained was it not our own? was it not in our own power? But to go back, and withdraw our Allegiance; after vows to make enquiry, what is *Moses* and *Aaron* that we murmur against them? Our murmurings, and so our disobedience, and Rebellions are not against them, but against the Lord.

Nay to shew that this mediate, or more remote way, as we call it, of our own choice, and Election is yet, after our choice is made, as truly God's act ratified, and confirm'd by him, as if he had done it immediately, and by himself, it does in some degrees, and Species of it lawfully make null, and is preferr'd by God before that authority which he brings us under without our selves. Thus the obedience we owe to the authority of our Parents whom we are brought under merely, and immediately by God, and where he does wholly chuse for us, yet ceases, and gives way to the duty between the Husband, and his Wife; which is of our own Election. *For this cause shall a man leave Father, and Mother, and cleave to his Wife.* And by this resemblance of the case between a man and his Wife,
we

we shall be able more explicitly to reconcile, and unite the mediate, and immediate way of God in placing of Rulers over us.

God did marry *Adam* and *Eve* together immediately, and by himself. *Of the rib made he a Woman*, says the Text, and he brought her unto the *Man*. But to others there is a liberty, and freedom given them not to marry necessarily, this or that man; this or that woman; but at their own choice and liking. But now when they have made their choice, determin'd, and tyed up this their former liberty in the Marriage-knot: God himself has done it; and it is, even the marriage of this particular man and woman, as truly, and verily God's act, as if He had done it (and not Man) immediately by himself. For so says our Saviour even of these so married, *Quos Deus conjunxit, &c. Whom God has joyn'd together* (so as to be sacred, and inseparable) therefore (but by God himself, till death us do part) *let not man put asunder*.

Now God may be said to marry the King and the children of *Israel* together (as *Adam* and *Eve*) immediately, and by himself, by an open, and profess'd revelation from Heaven. But the rest of the world he has left at liberty, as to be married to this or that man: so to be govern'd not necessarily by this or that authority; this or that King, and Family: but at their own choice, and election. But when this choice is once made, and determin'd: when the People have elected this Man for their King; plac'd him as their head, and Supreme by sacred Oaths of Allegiance, in the presence of God, to tye, and assure themselves for ever in subjection

to

to him (as the Woman to her Husband in the holy estate of Matrimony) *Vox populi est vox Dei.* 'Tis then as verily God's act as if he had by a voice from Heaven sent a Prophet to anoint this man King over this People. The people have no more to doe; he is then sacred, and unalterable. *Whom God hath joyn'd together, let not man put asunder.*

But now when the People who are one Body, as the Woman; but yet *Corpus fluidum* a successive body; as we call a River the same river to day as yesterday, though there be not one drop of the same water in the Chancel to day which we saw yesterday: So the same People though one Generation passeth and another cometh; when they I say for the better security of their own times, and to provide likewise for this Succession, do elect, and swear Fealty to the King, and his Heirs after him, and lawfull Successours: Those his Heirs in their several ages, and Successions, must needs be thought by virtue of this first Election, to have the same right, and authority conferr'd upon them by God as irreversibly, and indispensably as to the people; as He who was first plac'd in Supremacy over them. Whom God has joyn'd together has the same force here as formerly. And as at, or by the death onely of every particular King, they are freed, and at liberty from this particular King (as the Woman at the death of her Husband) so they cannot be absolv'd from the Succession but by the death, and *ἀπαρισμὸς* of the whole royal Line, and who were of right to succeed.

Saul was anointed indeed King over *Israel* onely in his own Person. But when God settles it upon

P

David,

we shall be able more explicitly to reconcile, and unite the mediate, and immediate way of God in placing of Rulers over us.

God did marry *Adam* and *Eve* together immediately, and by himself. *Of the rib made he a Woman*, says the Text, and he brought her unto the *Man*. But to others there is a liberty, and freedom given them not to marry necessarily, this or that man; this or that woman; but at their own choice and liking. But now when they have made their choice, determin'd, and tyed up this their former liberty in the Marriage-knot: God himself has done it; and it is, even the marriage of this particular man and woman, as truly, and verily God's act, as if He had done it (and not Man) immediately by himself. For so says our Saviour even of these so married, *Quos Deus conjunxit, &c. Whom God has joyn'd together* (so as to be sacred, and inseparable) therefore (but by God himself, till death us do part) *let not man put asunder*.

Now God may be said to marry the King and the children of *Israel* together (as *Adam* and *Eve*) immediately, and by himself, by an open, and profess'd revelation from Heaven. But the rest of the world he has left at liberty, as to be married to this or that man: so to be govern'd not necessarily by this or that authority; this or that King, and Family: but at their own choice, and election. But when this choice is once made, and determin'd: when the People have elected this Man for their King; plac'd him as their head, and Supreme by sacred Oaths of Allegiance, in the presence of God, to tye, and assure themselves for ever in subjection

to him (as the Woman to her Husband in the holy estate of Matrimony) *Vox populi est vox Dei.* 'Tis then as verily God's act as if he had by a voice from Heaven sent a Prophet to anoint this man King over this People. The people have no more to doe; he is then sacred, and unalterable. *Whom God hath joyn'd together, let not man put asunder.*

But now when the People who are one Body, as the Woman; but yet *Corpus fluidum* a successive body; as we call a River the same river to day as yesterday, though there be not one drop of the same water in the Chancel to day which we saw yesterday: So the same People though one Generation passeth and another cometh; when they I say for the better security of their own times, and to provide likewise for this Succession, do elect, and swear Fealty to the King, and his Heirs after him, and lawfull Successours: Those his Heirs in their severall ages, and Successions, must needs be thought by virtue of this first Election, to have the same right, and authority conferr'd upon them by God as irreversibly, and indispensably as to the people; as He who was first plac'd in Supremacy over them. Whom God has joyn'd together has the same force here as formerly. And as at, or by the death onely of every particular King, they are freed, and at liberty from this particular King (as the Woman at the death of her Husband) so they cannot be absolv'd from the Succession but by the death, and ἀπαρισμός of the whole royal Line, and who were of right to succeed.

Saul was anointed indeed King over *Israel* onely in his own Person. But when God settles it upon

P

David,

David, and his seed after him, as with us to the King, and his Heirs, 'tis very observable they were not anointed afresh in their several Successions. (as they need not with us any New, and particular election of the people) but the Ointment upon the head ran down upon the beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing: and so the hem of this royal robe, the very farthermost in the Succession has God's anointing, viz. the People's lawfull Election upon him. Which they cannot reverse, though to take place onely (as *David's* actual personal anointing did not prefer him to the Crown till the death of *Saul*) when by the death of those before him it rightly, and regularly descends upon him. For so the anointing the King with Oil was but an Emblematical ceremony of placing that Person so anointed in Supremacy above the rest; from that peculiar quality in Oil to be uppermost, and Supreme in all mixtures. (and therefore the Lord's anointed in the Old Testament is call'd the Supreme in the New. *Whether to the King as Supreme. 1 Pet. 2. 13.*) which is done *vivavice*, or in words at length in the peoples election. And therefore to chuse, and to anoint a King or *Synonoma's*, or words of the same signification. So in *Jotham's* parable, *Judg. 9. 8.* When the Trees went forth to chuse a King, they went forth, it is said, to anoint a king over them. And in the 15th verse, *If in truth ye anoint me king over you, i. e. make me* your King. v. 16. And then the anointing Oil was holy, as we may reade in several places, to shew that the King's Person was by this anointing become sacred. His sacred Majesty as we us'd to say,

Exod. 30. 31.

39. 38:

Mal. 89. 20.

say, not to be prophan'd therefore by rude, or common usage. *Touch not mine Anointed:* And, *Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless?*

In brief, God's method in setting up a King was anciently by sending a Prophet with commission to pour Oil upon the head of that Person whom he designed for that Honour. Now the People is that Prophet. God's sending the Prophet with commission to anoint such a Person is his opening a fair lawfull way, and inclining the hearts of the people to the Election of this Person: and the peoples voices, and suffrages pour'd upon him in the Election is the very holy Oil upon his head, whereby he is made Sacred, and irresistible. Where first the suffrage of the people is the Oil of the Prophet. Which as the Prophet might not be pouring out first upon this Person, and then upon that, as often as he pleases, but onely when God sends him. So nor are the People empower'd to reject this, and elect a New King, but when God gives them commission, that is to say, when a fair vacancy, and utter extinction is made of the Person, and Family whom they had formerly chosen. In the mean time the Prophet has nothing to doe with the Oil; nor have the People any voice, or suffrage whereby to confer Sovereignty on any. And secondly, as in the anointing with Oil the Prophet that pour'd the Oil yet was not he that gave the power; but the means, and Messenger onely by whom it was conveyed: And therefore was himself subject to the King as soon as he was thus anointed by him. So the People in their

election, and impowering any by their suffrage, are not to be lookt upon as the Authours, and Donours of the power; but the means, and instrument onely whereby God conveys it to this Person. *There is no power but of God.* Neither the Prophet, nor the People had *Jus vite & necis*, Power of Life and Death over others, much less over themselves: and not having it, cannot be supposed to bestow it (*Nihil dat quod non habet*) which therefore must needs be deriv'd to him from a higher original. And the People in their fullest freest convention, when they are most the People, remain still in the condition of the People; as the Prophet in the case before, in a degree, that is to say, of Subjection, and Inferiority to the King set over them.

That there may be indeed a King, as there is a Duke of *Venice* inferiour to the Senate, and Body of the People, we have before acknowledged. But such an One is, as I have said, abusively call'd a King. And the arraying him with royal Title, and denying him the power of it is but the same piece of mocking, as when *Herod* cloathed our Lord in purple, and put a Reed in his hand, viz. a Sceptre that must bow, and give way at every blast of the People. The colours that wash off were never laid in Oil. He that is truly a King is as truly Supreme. And that Ours in this Kingdom is truly, and rightly such, if it be not granted before, may be proved evidently by the Oil of his anointing; and so at large from the body of our Laws; and most undeniably from that particular Law, which with so much penaty
does.

does urge, and require it of us, to swear in expresse Terms, That the King's Highness is Supreme in these Realms. And lest there might be room left for coping, or joyning others in Supremacy with him to intermingle other liquors with this Holy Oil, by fansying a Coordination between the King and his Parliament, as was once pretended: It is yet more plain, and full, in the words of the Oath. The King's Highness not onely is Supreme, but the onely Supreme Governour in this Realm. And being so, it is thereby evident that all the sacredness, and immunities of the Lord's anointed in the Old Testament: All the Honours, and Prerogatives which are affixed to the Higher Powers in the New: *Whether to the ἐξουσίαι καὶ ἀρχαὶς in St. Paul; or to the βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχόντες in St. Peter,* do truly, and properly belong unto him. His non-possession will not allow us in a non-subjection. Honour, and Custome, and Tribute, says Saint Paul, not where these are claim'd but where these are due. And to be subject for conscience sake, as we are enjoyn'd, never respects how high, or how low, our King is; how near, or how far off; but has the same force upon us even when we have least reason to be afraid of his wrath.

And therefore to drive this to the quick, Saint Paul's sword has two edges. The first against the Romanists, who upon the Pope's account, and in obedience to him, do take liberty of disobeying their King. Against these in the first words. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.* *Καὶ Πᾶς ψυχὴ, καὶ Ἀπόστολος,* says S. Chrysostome on the
the

the place; though he be a Prophet, or Apostle. The Pope is included in Πᾶσα ψυχὴ, Every soul, and so falls himself, as to any thing in his Papacy, under subjection. The Higher Powers referr'd to in this place being plainly not the Ecclesiastical, but the Civil Magistrate: not the power of the Keys, but of the Sword, as he is describ'd in the fourth verse. *For he beareth not the Sword in vain*: not the Rod, or Keys of Excommunication, but the Sword of Execution. And then Secondly, against those Popular Partisans who derive from the people, and rebell upon their account. Every Soul will fetch them in too, as comprehending under it *Singula generum, & genera Singulorum*. All sorts, and every one of all sorts which is not the Supreme. And they that resist, says the Apostle, though they be as many as can be comprehended under the word They. Which sure will reach from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, and include the whole people, though being a They so numerous, and so great a Multitude, they may possibly prevail so far as to make sure of him from calling them to account, or avenging himself upon them. Yet they shall not escape the vengeance of God. *They shall receive to themselves Damnation* ἐαυτοῖς λαμβάνουσιν, as they have been ἐαυτοῖς λαβόντες. Because they have taken the Sword, and taken Honour to themselves, to themselves likewise they shall receive Damnation. The pretence of Rebellion is always indeed for the Common good: but the Design being wholly for themselves; for their own advantages, and preferments; to ingross the Wealth, and Royalty to themselves: just it is, that they should

(III)

should receive to themselves Damnation ; that is to say, in so full, ample and infinite a measure as if Damnation, which is the common portion of the wicked, were ingross'd, and appropriate onely to themselves.

T H E E N D.
